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Nos. 3 and 4

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

AT the January meeting of the Council of Governors the librarian presented his eighteenth annual report, in which the work of the library during the year 1917 was reviewed ; and following our usual custom we offer to our readers a brief summary of such portions of its contents as are likely to be of interest to them.

WORK OF
THE LIB-
RARY DUR-
ING 1917.

As we looked forward at the commencement of the year it was not unnatural again to anticipate a decline in the library's activities, and it is gratifying, therefore, to be able to report that in no sense have those fears been realized. From whatever point of view the work of the library is regarded, notwithstanding the inevitable difficulties and inconveniences by which we have been confronted at every turn, consequent upon the exigencies of the war, there are unmistakable evidences of progress.

It is true that several important pieces of work, which we had in contemplation, have had to be set aside for the time being, in consequence of the absence on active military service of so many members of the staff, but that is not to be wondered at, for plans conceived in times of peace naturally change and shrink under the strain and stress of war. Much valuable work has been accomplished, however, and not only has the regular routine of the library been "carried on," but new avenues of service, wherever possible, have been opened out, thanks to the loyal co-operation and unflagging industry of the remaining members of the staff.

The only difference to be noticed in the number of readers making regular use of the library, during the period covered by the report, was that there were fewer males, with, at least, a corresponding increase in the number of women readers.

The most gratifying feature of the use made of the library is the steadily increasing amount of research, especially in history and literature,

which is being conducted not only by students of our own university, but by members of other universities including the older foundations, many of whom express their grateful appreciation of the facilities which the library offers for such work.

The development of the resources of the library has been continued along the lines which hitherto have been productive of such excellent results, and in this respect the officials renew their acknowledgments of the valuable assistance which they have received from readers, who often in the course of their investigations have been able to call attention to the library's lack of important authorities in their special line of research. In every instance these helpful suggestions have received prompt and sympathetic attention.

The additions to the library during the year numbered 3641 volumes, including many rare and interesting items, a few of which, taken almost at random, may be mentioned as furnishing some idea of the character of the accessions which are constantly being obtained. The printed books include : Barnabe Barnes's "Foure bookes of Offices," 1606 ; the first edition of John Bunyan's "Discourse on the Pharisee and the Publicane," 1685 ; the second edition of Richard Brathwaite's "English Gentleman," 1633 ; Clement Cotton's "Mirror of Martyrs," 1615 ; John Calvin's "Abridgement of the Institution of Christian Religion," printed at Edinburgh by Vautrollier in 1585 ; Simon Fish's "Supplication of Beggars," 1599, to which Sir Thomas More wrote a reply ; Thomas Norton's "Treatise on the Nature of God," 1599 ; D'Urfey's "Pill to Purge State Melancholy," 1716 ; Bernardino Baldi's "Versi e Prose," 1590 ; Bernardo Capello's "Rime," 1560 ; A. F. Doni's "I marmi," 1552 ; Bernardo Tasso's "L'amadigi," 1531 ; Torquato Tasso's "Discorsi dell arte Poetica," 1587 ; "Les Quatrains des Sieurs Pybrac, Favre, et Mathiou," 1667 ; J. Boschius's "Symbolographia," 1701 ; Sadeler's "Symbola divina et humana pontificum imperatorum," 1601 ; Surius' "Vitae sanctorum ex probatis auctoribus et MSS. codicibus . . .," 1617, 5 vols. ; Angelus a S. Francisco, "Certamen seraphicum provinciae Angliae pro sancti Dei ecclesia," 1649 ; Steinschneider's "Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana," 1852-60.

Sets of the following important historical publications were also acquired : "The Scots Magazine," from its commencement in 1739 to its termination in 1877, 97 vols. ; Didron's "Annales archéologiques,"

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1844-81, 28 vols. ; The Smithsonian Institution's "Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology," 1879-1912, 33 vols. ; "Les Archives historiques du Département de la Gironde," 1869-1915, 52 vols. ; "Canada and its Provinces," 1914-17, 22 vols. ; together with sets of the transactions, proceedings, and other publications of the principal historical and archæological societies of the United States of America, including those of : Alabama, Connecticut, Dover, Essex, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, Newport, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Furthermore, the library acquired a selection, numbering about 300 volumes, from the library of the late Professor J. H. Moulton, consisting of works of comparative philology and religion, and including some important authorities on Iranian language and literature ; also a collection of works, comprised in 150 volumes, on Roman Law, and Comparative Law, including many texts of, and commentaries upon, Justinian, from the libraries of Craigie Hall, and that of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun.

The manuscript purchases, though not numerous, were of considerable importance. They comprise a collection of Greek papyri obtained by Dr. Rendel Harris during his stay in Egypt in the early part of the year, including a number of finds from the famous Oxyrhynchus site. The result of the examination of these documents is awaited with great interest, but it is unlikely that work upon them can be commenced until the close of the war. The Western Manuscripts consist of twelve Wardrobe and Household Expenses books which should prove of great interest to the historians of the period to which they belong. Three of them relate respectively to the 22nd, 28th, and 30th years of King Edward I ; one to the Household Expenses of Queen Joan of Navarre, widow of King Henry IV ; two to the Household Expenses of Queen Philippa [of Hainault], Consort of King Edward III ; one is the Wardrobe Book of Queen Katharine of Aragon for the year 1530 ; another is the Account Book of Receipts and Expenses of the Officers, Bailiffs, etc., of King Edward III, at Calais, Guisnes, and Ardres, 1371-72.

In the following list of donors, which contains 118 names, we have fresh proof of the ever-increasing interest in, and appreciation of, the work of the library, and we take this opportunity of renewing and emphasizing the thanks already expressed to each individually, in another form, for their generous gifts,

GIFTS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

assuring them that these expressions of goodwill are a most welcome source of encouragement to the Governors.

The gifts, which number 513 volumes, include many works which it would have been difficult if not impossible to obtain through any other channel, notably a number of privately printed works, and of publications relating to India, many of them printed in remote parts of our Eastern Empire, which by the instructions of the Secretary of State for India are regularly sent to us as they are published.

The names of individual donors and institutions are as follows :—

Admiralty Office. Director of the Intelligence Division.	A. L. Hetherington, Esq.
Editor of the Ampleforth Journal.	The Rev. A. Du Boulay Hill.
"Aurel" [Mme. Alfred Mortier].	John Hodgkin, Esq.
Charles Bailey, Esq.	John Howell, Esq.
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The Rev. G. Eyre Evans.	Dr. A. Mingana.
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Dr. J. Rendel Harris.	D'Arcy Power, Esq.
	Edgar Prestage, Esq.

Publisher of "Publications sur la guerre," 1914-15.	Sir Herbert Thompson, Esq.
The Rev. H. L. Ramsay, O.S.B.	W. Tomkinson, Esq.
H. L. Roth, Esq.	Professor Francesco Torraca.
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The Lady Abbess of Stanbrook Abbey.	H. Ward, Esq.
E. L. Stevenson, Esq.	Foster Watson, Esq.
Stubbs' Publishing Co.	G. Parker Winship, Esq.
	T. J. Wise, Esq.
	The Hon. Margaret Wyndham.

Aberystwyth. National Library of Wales.

American Art Association.

Boston, Mass. Museum of Fine Arts.

British Columbia. Provincial Museum.

British Museum.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Carnegie Trust.

Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

Chicago. The John Crerar Library.

Chicago. The Newberry Library.

Chicago University.

Clark University.

Columbia University.

Cornell University.

Durham University.

Edinburgh University Library.

Glasgow University Library.

Habana. Academia Nacional.

Habana. Biblioteca Nacional.

London. Dr. Williams's Library.

London Institution. School of Oriental Studies.

Manchester. Free Reference Library.

Manchester. Victoria University.

Michigan University Library.
 New York Public Library.
 New Zealand. Government Statistician's Office.
 Norwich Public Library.
 Ontario. Provincial Museum.
 Pennsylvania. Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U.S.
 Com. of Penn.
 Reading. University College Library.
 Research Defence Society.
 Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
 St. Andrews University Library.
 Springfield, Ill., U.S.A. Insurance Department.
 Toronto University Library.
 Washington. Congressional Library.
 Washington. Department of Labour.
 Washington. Surgeon General's Office Library.
 Washington University Library, St. Louis, Mo.

Amongst recent gifts to the library is one of exceptional interest to the student of the history of the modern drama, consisting of ten quarto volumes of newspaper and other literary cuttings which deal with the history of the Irish National Theatre from its inception in 1903 to the present time.

THE IRISH
 NATIONAL
 THEATRE.

This interesting collection of fugitive, but none the less valuable material, which has been presented to the library by Miss Horniman, would have been lost, because through accident of birth it is buried in the files of the various newspapers and periodicals in which it appeared, but for the praiseworthy energy displayed by the donor in collecting it, and with her own hands preserving it and making it available to students in its existing form.

The Irish National Theatre is a natural outgrowth of the Celtic Revival ; and this in turn is but a phase of the Irish National Movement, which has met with a good deal of ridicule in this country merely because of certain extravagances and absurdities in which some of the more aggressive spirits have indulged, but amongst literary people who have looked upon it with unprejudiced eyes it has aroused a real sympathetic interest.

The aim of the little band of Irish enthusiasts to whom belongs the

credit of laying the foundation of the Irish National Theatre, was to render in dramatic form some of the best of the fascinating legendary tales and traditions which tell of the faith and life of the Irish people, of the deeds of their heroes, and of the glories of their kings, and in so doing to substitute a live national drama worthy of the name, for what Mr. Yeats describes as : " the machine made play of modern commerce, that lifeless product of conventional cleverness, from which we come away knowing nothing new about ourselves, seeing life with no new eyes, and hearing it with no new ears ". If it be true that the Irish are a hearing rather than a reading people, then this new movement is fraught with great possibilities, and is an event of far-reaching importance in the national history of Ireland.

In the ultimate realization of their aim Miss Horniman played a very important part, by generously undertaking to provide these struggling enthusiasts with a permanent home in Dublin, where they could develop the literary and dramatic instinct of the Irish people. Until the advent of this fairy god-mother they had had to write their own plays, and with very limited resources to produce them, often under the most distressing circumstances and amidst the most inconvenient surroundings.

The new experiment was a complete breaking away from the modern stage development. For one thing it provided no accommodation for an orchestra, since no musical instruments were employed or needed to give an artificial swing to the entertainment ; neither was there any bar, for as Mr. Yeats would say : " People who are on a pilgrimage in quest for truth and beauty, have no call for such distractions ". Limelight, too, was banned and tabooed, whilst the scenic arrangements were of the simplest and every-day order, not only with a view of avoiding unnecessary expenditure, but because rightly understood the proper rôle of scenery and mounting is to suggest and not to realize.

In this respect the Irish National Theatre is a return to the simplicity of the Elizabethan Stage, or of the Greek Drama, when the improvised stage was never cumbered, never tawdry as in those theatres where the actors and perhaps the audience are too little imaginative to trust to the work played for their effect. It is noteworthy that the Irish audience possesses that faculty of emotion, those easily aroused passions which distinguished the Elizabethan playgoers. Ireland was not hampered by either tradition or convention, for until the period to

which these volumes refer, drama had been non-existent in that country, that is to say, drama of home-growth, racy of the soil ; it is true there were so-called Irish plays, but they were sheer burlesques. Most of the plays of the revival are of the country people, so that a few coloured shawls, an old hat or two, a market basket, and (in normal times) a pennyworth of apples are almost all the stage properties required. The fact is that the young men in this new movement have turned back to the old masters of the art, and a new spirit has been breathed into the Irish valley of dry bones.

Since the publication of our last issue we have received a number of very important contributions to the new library for the University of Louvain, which, as most of our readers are aware, is in process of formation here in Manchester, and which already comprises upwards of ten thousand volumes. Up to the time of going to press it was our intention to include in the present issue a detailed report of these most recent contributions, but such have been the demands upon our space, that we have been compelled to postpone the publication of this report until October, when it is hoped that the succeeding number of the BULLETIN will make its appearance.

The promised report will be accompanied by a complete list of the names of all who have in any way participated in this endeavour to restore the library resources of the crippled and exiled University, since its inauguration in December, 1914.

In the meantime we renew our appeal for further offers of help, which may take the form either of suitable books or of contributions of money. In order to obviate any duplication of gifts, those who may wish to participate in this scheme of reconstruction are requested to be good enough, in the first instance, to send to the writer, the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, the titles of the works they are willing to contribute.

THE LOU-
VAIN LIB-
RARY
SCHEME.

THE VENETIAN POINT OF VIEW IN ROMAN HISTORY.¹

By R. S. CONWAY, LITT.D.,

HULME PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IT is a common diversion of historical writers to trace in the work of some individual member of a given race the characteristics which mark the race as a whole. This is often profitable and in some degree necessary, if either the race or the individual are to be clearly understood.

The name Venetian has for most English readers probably many associations ; the ideas of a courageous independence, of the triumph of sea-power, of the use of that power in defence of civilisation against oriental barbarism, are part of what Venice stands for in history ; but to most of us the name suggests also an architecture of unique beauty ; and more than all a number of pictures that represent, perhaps, the highest level of perfection which the art of painting has ever reached.

The present writer desires to claim nothing that can be called a knowledge of that art, but only to be allowed to state simply the things which have given him especial delight in a few great pictures which he has visited many times. Probably there are many others like him who had never found themselves in the least excited about anything on canvas, until they saw the work of Titian and Giorgione or some others of the same school. These pictures seem to have the power to awaken, even in minds comparatively dull to such things, a certain humble eagerness and a strange sense of light and friendship, comparable to that which comes from hearing some great speech or poem or piece of music ; a sudden consciousness that there is before us in these pictures something which concerns us intimately, so in-

¹ An outline of this paper was delivered as a Lecture in the John Rylands Library on October 10, 1917.

tunately that their authors become henceforward friends who have made the whole of life deeper and richer. And the arresting quality, I think, in these great works of art is something that may be called dramatic. It represents some strong human feeling in a setting of circumstance which is in some way vitally related to it, so that the whole seems not a picture, but a part, of life. Titian's Holy Family with the little St. John offering roses to the Christ, and the grey headed St. Antony standing beside ; or Santa Caterina devoting herself to the same lovely child with St. John this time playing with a pet lamb ; or Giorgione's *Concerto*, where the young harmonist, who, after some seeking, has just found or is just finding the right chord, looks up with a flash of insight and delight ; or the indescribable power of Titian's portrait of the armed warrior Giovanni De' Medici,—all these have a warmth of feeling, almost of passion, which till then we had never dreamt of seeing conveyed on canvas ; and yet this spiritual element is somehow fenced in and surrounded convincingly with the concrete conditions of daily life. In Venice, as I learn from Mr. E. V. Lucas,¹ this warmth and vitality in the work of one of the painters of the school is called '*the glow of Giorgione*,' '*il fuoco Giorgionesco*'. The feeling depicted is not merely intense but moral in the widest sense, springing from the most essential parts of human nature and so making universal appeal ; for example a great tenderness to women and children ; a great reverence for old age,—especially natural to Venetians, who were long lived folk ; a genial interest in the details of daily life ; a sense of greatness in public relations ; these are some, though only some, of the things which seem to be most deeply felt in the pictures of the Venetian masters.

Not long ago it happened to me in pursuing a rather obscure path of study among the monuments of the early languages of Italy, to realise what I might have known before, that this Venetian race, which to us is the glory of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, had played a part in the civilisation of an earlier epoch, had made in fact no small contribution to the humanising of Central and Western Europe from the very beginning of history.

Few people in this country, and not very many in any other,

¹ *A Wanderer in Venice* (London, 1914), p. 293. To this delightful book I am much indebted, both for some points of Venetian history and for the choice of the typical lines from Shelley quoted below.

have even heard of a language known as Venetic, of which the only record is in a few score inscriptions dating from about 500 B.C. down to the Christian era. These scanty fragments are of considerable interest to students of Comparative Philology because they present to us a language in many ways intermediate to Greek and Latin; and a few years ago I began to collect materials for a complete edition of its remains. In 1916 I received from a friend who is a distinguished Italian scholar¹ a copy of some newly discovered inscriptions of considerable interest, which date from the third century B.C. They were found in the summer of 1914, at Pieve di Cadore during the construction of the station for the first railway ever built there. Both inscriptions were on rather beautiful bronze vases (*situle*, pails, as one might call them, if one regarded only their shape, not their ornament); and the Cadore valley has yielded so long a series of these and other objects of similar workmanship as to show that it must have been a centre of artistic manufacture and export from at least the fifth century B.C. At that date and later this valley was one of the regular tracks of communication between the head of the Adriatic and Central Europe. About twenty years ago there were discovered, on a hill which is known to-day as the Gurina, between the Gail and Drave valleys, in the Tyrol, almost north of the Alps, the remains of an important but hitherto nameless ancient city which must have been inhabited in the fifth and later centuries B.C., by people who spoke this same Venetic language; and among these remains there are a number of bronze plates, fashioned in what we should call *repoussé* style, which served, I believe,² to adorn the panels of doors, and which, if so, show that this characteristic feature of the art of North Italy, the decoration of doors by bronze panels, goes back to the third or fourth century B.C. The other remains of this race of Veneti, especially numerous on the site of the modern city of Este, connect them closely with the culture of Hellas and Crete of the sixth century B.C. But in the valley of the Piave, which lies in the route from this nameless city over the mountains to

¹ For the latest discoveries in this Piave valley see Pellegrini, *Atti e Memorie R. Acc. Sci. Lett. Art. in Padova*, Vol. XXXII. (1916), pp. 209 ff., 215 ff.

² The Venetic word *ahsu's* occurs on the dedicatory inscription of two of them; and it is best interpreted, I think, to mean "door" (cf. Gr. ἄξων).

Italy, lie the towns of Treviso, Feltre, and Belluno, well known to students of the Renaissance; and Pieve di Cadore, where the two last inscriptions were found, was the birthplace of Titian.

In view of such facts one naturally asks whether there was any link between this early art of the Veneti and the great Venetians of the Renaissance. To ask the question is to answer it. They are demonstrably the same people. From whence were the Lagoons of Venice peopled? From all the district to the west of them when the barbarians overran it,—from Altinum, from Aquileia and especially from Padua, which was in ancient times the chief seat of the Veneti and only 14 miles from the sea. At the Christian era Padua still celebrated¹ every year a regatta in commemoration of the victory of Paduan sailors who repelled the invasion of a Greek pirate in the year 302 B.C.; and the point which historians choose as marking the real independence of the new Venice, is the year 584 A.D. when the claim of Padua to control the whole district (a claim based on the old traffic from Padua down the river Brenta which then ran out into the sea along the north side of what is now the Giudecca) was finally defeated through the Pact with the Exarch Longinus. And Padua, like Venice, lies in what seems to a northerner a sea of summer light between the Alps and the Euganean Hills, which Shelley has described in *Julian and Maddalo*:—

‘ . . . , the hoar
And aery Alps, towards the north, appeared,
Through mist, an heaven-sustaining bulwark, reared
Between the east and west; and half the sky
Was roofed with clouds of rich emblazonry,
Dark purple at the zenith, which still grew
Down the steep west into a wondrous hue
Brighter than burning gold, even to the rent
Where the swift sun yet paused in his descent
Among the many-folded hills—they were
Those famous Euganean hills, which bear,
As seen from Lido, through the harbour piles,
The likeness of a clump of peaked isles—
And then, as if the earth and sea had been
Dissolved into one lake of fire, were seen
Those mountains towering, as from waves of flame,
Around the vaporous sun, from which there came
The inmost purple spirit of light, and made
Their very peaks transparent.

¹ Livy, X. 2.

Padua, as became a city so gloriously placed, was proverbially known in the ancient world as the home of simple living and high morals and an intense affection for freedom ; it became, as we all know, the seat of the greatest University of the Middle Ages, to which all our English Universities are deep in debt ; and its greatest ancient citizen was the historian Livy. And what I want to suggest here is that the truest way of judging and enjoying Livy's work is to regard him as taking essentially a Venetian point of view.¹ That is, to realise that what gave him most pleasure, and what he counted his greatest object, was to paint a series of pictures, each embodying, in the fewest words, some clash of feeling and circumstance, some struggle of rival passions, some triumph of wisdom or valour or devotion ; pictures instinct with dramatic imagination and coloured with lively human sympathy. The rest of his narration, though he dealt with it honestly and frankly in his own way, was to him only the setting for the true work of his art, the pictures of noble scenes.

If this seems new doctrine, let us at least remember how Livy describes his own design. He begins his Preface by an apology for attempting again a task undertaken by so many before him and acknowledges its enormous scope. But it will 'divert his mind from the miseries of recent times,' to dwell on the earlier period.

It is not my intention either to affirm or deny the truth of the stories which have gathered round the earliest beginnings of Rome. They are better fitted for the imagination of poets than the sober chronicles of history. Antiquity has the privilege of exalting the origin of great cities by interweaving the actions of gods and men ; and if it be reasonably granted to any people to hallow its beginnings and call the gods its founders, surely it is granted to the people of Rome. The glory which they have won in war is great enough for the world which acknowledges their supremacy to acknowledge also their claim to the son of Mars himself for their founder. But howsoever these stories and their like be judged or censured, will, I confess, trouble me but little. It is to other things that I would have my reader direct his best attention, the life, the character of the nation, the

¹ Some time after this lecture had been given, my friend Prof. W. B. Anderson, to whom the paper is indebted for other valuable help, called my attention to a note in Niebuhr's *Rom. Hist.* (Eng. Tr. new ed. II. 544) in which among 'Livy's own peculiar excellencies' he reckons 'that richness and warmth of colouring which many centuries after were the characteristics of the Venetian painters born under the same sky'.

men and the conduct, at home and on the field, from which its power sprang and grew. Then he may trace how the ancient government broke down, and how the ancient character of the nation gave way too, until at length we have reached a point in our own day when both the abuses of our national life and their remedies are greater than we can bear.

There you hear the free Venetian spirit, recognising, and yet lamenting, the necessity of the new Empire of the Cæsars. And the next sentence has a no less characteristic Paduan touch :—

Yet unless I am deceived by fondness for my task, there never was a nation whose history is richer in noble deeds, nor a community into which greed and luxury have made so late an entrance; or in which plain and thrifty living have been so long or so highly honoured. It is just this which is so health-giving and fruitful in the study of history, that you can fix your gaze upon well-attested examples of every kind of conduct, blazoned upon a splendid record.

From these words it is clear that what Livy first of all set before him was to paint these 'great examples': 'great men, great institutions, great deeds, are the things on which the reader must 'fix his gaze'. Take now as the first of a few such pictures from Livy's pages, a brief and to us not very exciting scene in a dilapidated temple in Rome, somewhere about 27 B.C. It is a footnote which Livy adds to the spirited story of a fight in the fifth century B.C. between a Roman called Aulus Cossus and an Etruscan Chief, in which Cossus had won what was called royal spoil, *spolia opima*, by defeating the enemy's leader in single combat (IV. 20. 5).

I have followed all the authorities in relating that it was in the office of military tribune¹ that Cossus won these spoils and dedicated them in the Temple of Jupiter. But in the first place spoil is only properly called Royal when it is taken by a Roman commander from the commander of the enemy, and we recognise no one as commander unless he is actually the general in charge of an army. And secondly, the actual inscription written upon the spoil itself proves that both I and my authorities are wrong and that in truth Cossus took them when he was Consul. This fact I learnt from Augustus Cæsar, the second founder of every temple in Rome, since I heard him say that when he entered the shrine of Jupiter Feretrius, which he restored from an almost ruinous state, he read with his own eyes this inscription written on the linen corselet. And I feel that it would be almost a sacrilege to rob Cossus of such testimony to his achievement, the testimony of the Emperor himself, the second founder of the temple. But if the source of the confusion lie in certain ancient authorities . . . that is a point on which every reader is free to use his own conjecture.

¹ A rank corresponding to that of a modern colonel.

Then after pointing out further difficulties in the traditional account Livy concludes :—

But we may toss these matters of small importance, to and fro, according to every man's opinion; and when all is done, the author of this battle his own self, having set up these fresh and new spoils in a holy place, in the sight of Jupiter himself standing thereby, to whom they were vowed, and Romulus also, two witnesses not to be despised nor abused with a false title, hath written himself, A. Cornelius Cossus Consul.¹

This is quite typical of Livy's whole attitude to difficult points in tradition. His judgment on the evidence is quite sound. He sees that his usual authorities must be wrong; but he leaves it to the reader to say so in so many words, because that, he felt, would cast doubt on the rest of his history, since he despairs altogether of explaining their vagaries. But his despair does not weigh on his mind at all; it did not even lead him to go to look at the inscription with his own eyes; what interests him is the picture of the young, triumphant Emperor Augustus, in the course of his devout restoration of the ancient shrines of Rome, stopping to read the archaic letters written on a linen breast-plate torn from a dying Etruscan chief by his vanquisher the Consul Cossus, 400 years before.

Let us turn to a few pictures on a larger canvas, putting first the familiar passage which led our own Turner to one of his most vivid paintings, Hannibal's crossing the Alps. Into the controversies that have sprung from the perennial interest of the story, we will not enter; but it is well to observe that on every point the course of modern research (in which the investigations of Dr. G. E. Marindin, Capitaine Colin, and Prof. Spenser Wilkinson may be especially mentioned) has vindicated the good faith and sound judgment with which Livy has interpreted, so far as he could, a tradition well attested but almost wholly devoid of local names. It is unlucky that the gravest piece of carelessness which ever sullied the high repute of Theodor Mommsen should have led him to impugn the truth of Livy's account on the ground of its divergence from the account given by Polybius; whereas it is only necessary to read the whole of what Polybius says about Hannibal's point of descent—and not the

¹ The discerning reader will have scented in this concluding paragraph of the rendering a freshness hardly to be compassed in our own labouring day. It is from Philemon Holland's version; on which see below.

first part only, which is all that Mommsen heeded—to see that in every essential point the two stories are closely parallel, and wholly worthy of credence.¹

This version and those that follow are either taken from, or largely based upon, the translation of Philemon Holland which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth² and breathes everywhere the masterfulness and enthusiasm of her ‘spacious times’. Those which, like the Hannibal passage, are here taken over, I have modified where we have now better knowledge of Livy’s text or (which is rare) of his Latin; where the English of the sixteenth century would be now misleading; and where the richness of Holland’s vocabulary and his manful resolve to discover in the Latin every atom of its meaning, have done less than justice to the pregnant gravity of Livy’s style. Wherever Holland’s English suggests a brilliant and voluble school-boy, that is the mark not of Livy, but of Holland and his century; but where it flows in a strong tide of feeling, moving with speed and power, there he has exactly expressed his original.

Let us begin at a point at which Hannibal, already in high altitudes, has had a sharp conflict with one Alpine tribe, and is approached by delegates from another (XXI., c. 34, 4).

¶ First went in the van guard the Elephants, and the horsemen; himself marched after with the flower of his infantry, looking all about him with an heedful eye. So soon as he was entered a narrow passage which on one side lay under a steep hill, the barbarous people rose out of their ambush from all parts at once, before and behind, and attacked him; yea

¹ For the details of Mommsen’s error see *Class. Rev.*, XXV. (1911), p. 156; Mr. F. E. A. Traves gives an excellent comparison of the two narratives in the Appendix to his edition of Book XXI. (London, 1905, Bell & Co.). Prof. Spenser Wilkinson in a brilliant monograph (*Hannibal’s March*, Oxford, 1911) gives the results of his own exploration of the district and makes a strong case for the Col. Clapier.

² A few sentences from this dedication I cannot withhold:—

‘Vouchsafe also, of your accustomed clemency showed to aliens; of your fervent zeal to learning and good letters . . . to reach forth your gracious hand to T. Livius; who having arrived long since and conversed as a mere stranger in this your famous Island and now for love thereof learned in some sort the language, humbly craveth your Majesty’s favour to be ranged with other free citizens of that kind, so long to live under your princely protection, as he shall duly keep his own allegiance and acquaint your liege subjects with religious devotion after his manner, with wisdom, policy, virtue, valour, loyalty; and not otherwise.’

and rolled down mighty stones upon them as they marched. But the greatest number came behind; against whom he turned and made head with his infantry, and without all peradventure, if the tail of his army had not been strong and well fortified, they must needs have received an exceeding great overthrow in that valley. Even as it was, Hannibal spent one night cut off from his baggage and cavalry. After this the mountainers (fewer in number and in robbing wise rather than in warlike sort) attacked him only in small bands, one while upon the vaward, other while upon the rereward, as any of them could get the vantage of ground. . . .

The Elephants though they were driven very slowly, because through these narrow straits they were ready ever and anon to run on their noses, yet what way soever they went, they kept the army safe and sure from the enemy, who being not used unto them, durst not once come near. The ninth day he won the very tops of the Alps, mostly through untrod paths: after he had wandered many times out of the way, either through the deceitfulness of their guides; or because when they durst not trust them, they had adventured rashly themselves upon the valleys without knowing the tops thereof. There the soldiers wearied with travail and fight rested two days: certain also of the sumpter horses (which had slipt aside from the rocks) by following the tracks of the army as it marched, made their way to the camp. When they were thus overtoiled and wearied with these tedious travailes, a fall of snow (for now the star Vergiliae was setting) increased their fear exceedingly. For when at the break of day the ensigns were set forward, the army marched out slowly through deep snow all around them; and there appeared in the countenance of them all heaviness and despair. Then Hannibal advanced before the standards and commanded his soldiers to halt upon a certain projecting spur of the mountains (from whence they had a goodly prospect and might see a great way all about them); and there displayed unto them Italy and the goodly champain fields about the Po, which lie hard under the foot of the Alps: saying That even now they had mounted the walls not only of Italy but also of the city of Rome; all besides (saith he) will be plain and easy to be travelled: and after one or two battles at the most ye shall have at your command, the very castle and head city of Italy.

Howbeit they had much more difficult travelling down hill, than in the climbing up; for well nigh all the way was steep, narrow and slippery, so as neither they could hold themselves from sliding, nor if any tripped and stumbled never so little, could they possibly (they staggered so) recover themselves and keep sure footing, but one fell upon another and horses upon the men. After this they came to a much narrower path of rock with crags so steep downright that hardly even a nimble soldier without armour and baggage (do what he could to take hold with hands upon the twigs and plants that there about grew forth) was able to creep down. This place being before naturally steep and precipitous, now was cut right off by a new fall of earth, which had left a bank behind it of nearly a thousand feet depth. There the horsemen stood still as if they had been come to their ways end: and when Hannibal marvelled much what the matter might be that stayed

them so, as they marched not on : word was brought him that the Rock was unpassable. Whereupon, he went himself in person to view the place and then he saw indeed without all doubt that he must fetch a compasse about, however far round, and conduct his army, to pass through the wild places around it such as before had never been trodden. And verily that (of all other ways) was such as it was impossible to pass through. For whereas there lay old snow untouched and not trodden on, and over it other snow newly fallen, of a moderate depth : in this soft and tender snow, and the same not very deep, their feet as they went, easily took hold ; but that snow, being once with the gait of so many people and beasts upon it, fretted and thawed, they were compelled to go upon the bare frozen surface underneath, and in the slabbery snow-broth, as it relented and melted about their heels. There they had foul ado and much struggling, for they could not tread sure upon the slippery ice : which betrayed their feet the sooner for the downward slope ; so that whether with hands or knees they strove to rise, down they fell again, when those their props and stays slipped from beneath them ; and there were here no stocks of trees nor roots about, whereupon a man might take hold, and stay himself, either by hand or foot ; so all they could do, was to tumble and wallow, upon the slippery and glassy ice, in the molten slabbie snow. Otherwhiles also the poor beasts cut through the surface of the lower snow, where they trod hard upon it : and when once they were fallen forward, with flinging out their heels, and beating with their hoofs more forcibly for to take hold, they brake the under surface quite through ; so as many of them, as if they had been caught fast and fettered, stuck still in the hard frozen and congealed ice.

At last, when both man and beast were wearied and overtoiled, and all to no purpose, they encamped upon the top of an hill, having with very much ado cleansed the place aforehand for that purpose : such a deal of snow there was to be digged, and thrown out. This done, soldiers were brought to break that rock, through which was their only way : and against the time that it was to be hewed through, they felled and overthrew many huge trees that grew there about, and made a mighty heap and pile of wood : the wind served fitly for the time to kindle a fire and then they all set aburning. Now when the rock was on fire, and red hot, they poured thereon vinegar¹ for to calcine and dissolve it. When the rock was thus baked (as it were) with fire, they digged into it and opened it with pick-axes, and made the descent gentle and easy by means of moderate windings and turnings : so as not only the horses and other beasts but even the Elephants also might be able to go down. Four days Hannibal spent about the levelling of this rock : and the beasts were almost pined and lost for hunger. For the hill-tops for the most part are bare of grass, and look what forage there is, the snow conceals. But the lower grounds have valleys and some little banks lying to the sun and streams withall, near unto the woods, yea and places more meet and beseeiming for

¹ This device was practised in ancient times by Spaniards in their quarries (Pliny, 33. 96) and it was from Spain that Hannibal's best troops had been drawn.

men to inhabit. There were the labouring beasts put out to grass and pasture; and the soldiers that were wearied with making the ways had three days allowed to rest in.

Turn now to two pictures¹ of Roman character in an earlier century, of T. Manlius Torquatus the Consul and Q. Papirius the Dictator. The two are meant by Livy to stand as companion portraits;—their likeness, and their unlikeness, will appear.

The story of Titus Manlius is an incident in the great Latin War of 340 B.C., which was almost a civil war, since the Latins who were now in revolt spoke the language of Rome and had long served in the Roman legions; and many of the men in the rebel army were familiarly known to old comrades on the other side. To preclude the opportunities for treachery which these conditions offered, the Consuls, of whom one was T. Manlius, forbade all irregular fighting (*ne quis iniussu pugnaret*). But the Consul's own son, who was a commander of a cavalry patrol, was challenged to single combat by a Latin noble and did not refuse. The young Roman unhorsed his challenger and slew him. This is the sequel (VIII. 7. 12):—

Then the young Manlius returned with his spoil to his companions and rode back to camp amid their shouts of triumph. So he came into his father's presence in the prætorium, ignorant of what his destiny had in store, whether he had earned praise or penalty. "So that all the world," said he, "my father, might truly report that I am sprung from your blood, when I was challenged by an enemy, I fought him horse to horse, and slew him, and took these spoils." But when the consul heard these words, he could not bear to look upon his son, but turned away and bade the trumpet sound for an assembly of the soldiers.

The soldiers being assembled in great number, then said the elder Manlius to his son: "Since you, Titus Manlius, have neither feared the authority of a consul nor revered the command of your father, but have disobeyed our edict by leaving the ranks to engage in single combat; and since, so far as in you lay, you have broken the discipline of war on which the safety and the power of Rome have to this day depended; and have brought me to a strait pass where I must choose either to forget the commonweal, or to forget myself, you and I shall abide the smart for our misdeeds rather than that our country, to her so great damage, should pay for our folly and transgression. We shall afford a fearful but a wholesome example to young men of future time. I acknowledge as I look upon you that I am touched not merely by natural affection for my son but by the

¹ Both passages come from a Book too little read in our schools, the Eighth, perhaps partly because of a grievous difficulty in the text of the eighth chapter, which recent study of the MSS. has now, I think, removed.

deed of valour you have done, tempted by a false show of glory. But since the authority of the consuls must needs be either confirmed by your death, or if you escape the penalty of disobedience, be for ever annulled; and since, if you have aught of my blood in your veins, even you yourself will not, I believe, refuse to vindicate by your punishment the discipline that has been overthrown by your fault"—then said he to the lictor—"go, lictor, I command you, bind him to the block."

Vergil's comment on this scene is brief and famous, 'Torquatus, that stern headsman' (*saevumque securi Torquatum*).

Twenty years later in the great Samnite War the Dictator Papirius, having to leave his army in order to discharge some ceremony at Rome, gave precise instructions to his Master of the Horse, who was left in command, not to engage the enemy until he, Papirius, should return. The instruction was disobeyed; and Fabius having won a victory announced it in a dispatch which was read to the Senate in the presence of the Dictator himself, who at once left Rome for the front, making no secret of his intention to inflict summary punishment on Fabius. Arrived in camp he found the army and its superior officers unwilling to surrender Fabius to be scourged and beheaded, and a long altercation ended in Fabius' escape to Rome. The Dictator hurried back after him. There followed a debate and resolution of the Senate, which had no effect upon the Dictator's resolve.

(Book VIII. 33. 7.) Then stepped forth M. Fabius the father. 'For as much,' said he, 'neither the authority of the Senate, nor mine old age, whom you seek to make childless, nor yet the noble courage of the Master of Horse, by your own self chosen, can prevail; nor any humble prayers, which are often able to appease the fury of an enemy, yea and to pacify the wrath of the Gods; I implore the lawful help of the Tribunes, and to the whole body of the people I appeal'. . . . Then out of the Council-house they went straight to the common place of audience; and when the Dictator, attended with some few, was ascended up to the rostra, and the Master of the Horse, accompanied by all the whole troop of the chief of the city, had followed him, Papirius commanded that Fabius should come down, or else be fetched, from the Rostra, unto the lower ground. His father followed after him. 'Well done,' quoth the father, 'in commanding us to be brought hither, from whence we may be allowed to speak our minds, even if we were no better than private persons.' Then at the first there passed no continued speeches so much as wrangling and altercation. But afterwards, the voice and indignation of old Fabius surmounted the other noise; who greatly cried out upon the pride and cruelty of Papirius. 'What, man?' quoth he, 'I have been also a Dictator of Rome myself, and yet was there never so much as a poor commoner, no Centurion, nor soldier hardly entreated by me. But Papirius seeketh victory and triumph over a

Roman General, as much as over the leaders and commanders of his enemies. See, what difference there is between the government of men in old time, and this new pride and cruelty of late days. Quintius Cincinnatus when he was Dictator, proceeded no farther in punishment against the Consul Minucius, when he had delivered him lying besieged within his own camp, but to leave him as a Lieutenant instead of Consul, in the army whereof he had charge. . . . Neither the people itself, whose power is sovereign, was ever more angry against those that through rashness and want of skill lost whole armies, than to fine them a sum of money. For the miscarriage of any battle, that a General should be brought into question for his life, was never heard of to this day. But now, rods and axes, whipping and beheading, are prepared for the Commanders under the people of Rome, and those, who are conquerors and have deserved most justly triumphs. . . . What else (I pray you) should my son have endured, if he had suffered the field to be lost and his army likewise? If he had been discomfited, put to flight, and driven clean out of his camp, how far forth further would the Dictator's ire and violence have proceeded than to scourge and kill? And see how fit and seemly a thing it is that the city for the victory of Q. Fabius, should be in joy, in processions to the gods, and thanksgivings, with congratulation and feasting one another; and he himself by whose means the temples stand open, the altars smoke with incense and sacrifice, and are heaped up again with vows, oblations, and offerings, to be stripped naked, to be whipped and lashed to death in the sight of the people of Rome, looking up to the Capitol, lifting up his eyes to the gods, whom in two such noble battles he has invoked and not in vain? With what heart will the army take this, which by his leading and under his fortune achieved victory? What lamentation will there be in the Roman camp? and what rejoicing amongst our enemies?' Thus fared Fabius the good old father, calling upon God and man for help; and withall embraced his son in his arms, and shed many a tear. On the one side, there made with young Fabius, the majesty of the Senate, the love of the people, the assistance of the Tribunes, and the remembrance of the army absent. On the other side were alleged against him by Papirius, the invincible command and government of the people of Rome; the discipline of war; the Dictator's orders (reverenced at all times, no less than an oracle of the gods); the severe edicts of Manlius, whose fatherly love and affection to his son was counted less than the service and common good of the state; the same exemplary justice which L. Brutus, the first founder of Roman liberty, had executed in his two sons. And now, mild and kind fathers, fond old men, when other men's commandment have been contemned, gave liberty to youth, and pardoned as a small matter the overthrow of military discipline. Howbeit, he Papirius for his part would persist in his purpose: till nor remit one jot of condign punishment to him who contrary to his commandment, and notwithstanding the disturbance of religion and the doubtful auspices, had given battle; saying, that as it was not in his power to abridge any jot the eternal majesty of that State and Empire; so neither, would he diminish aught of the authority thereof; and he prayed that neither the Tribunes' puissance, sacred and inviolable itself, should, by their intervention violate the power of Rome; nor that the people

of Rome should in him above all others abolish and extinguish both Dictator and Dictatorship. Which if it did, the posterity hereafter should lay the weight and blame (although in vain) not on L. Papirius, but on the Tribunes. For when once the discipline of war was profaned, no private soldier would obey his centurion nor any man in any rank in any army him that is set over him. . . . 'With these crimes and inconveniences (o ye Tribunes) charged you must be to the world's end; lay down you must, and gage your own lives for the audacious disobedience of Q. Fabius, for whom ye are now answerable.'

The Tribunes were astonished hereat, and for themselves now rather anxious and perplexed, than for him who had recourse unto them for succour. But the general consent of the people of Rome, turning to prayer and entreaty, eased them of this heavy load; and with one voice humbly besought the Dictator, to remit the punishment of the Master of Horse, for their sake. The Tribunes also, seeing that was the way, and all others, inclining and growing to petition, followed after, and did the like; earnestly beseeching the Dictator to forgive this human frailty, and youthful folly of Q. Fabius, saying that he had suffered chastisement enough. Then the young man himself, then his father M. Fabius, forgetting all strife, and laying aside debate, fell down at the Dictator's feet, and besought him to appease his wrathful displeasure. Hereupon the Dictator after silence made, 'Yea marrie,' quoth he, 'o Quirites, this I like well, and thus it should be; now hath military discipline got the victory; now hath the majesty of the Empire prevailed indeed, which lay both a-bleeding, and were in hazard to be abolished for ever, after this day. Q. Fabius is not acquit of his offence, in that he fought against his Dictator's commandment; but being thereof convicted and cast, is forgiven, nay is given to the people of Rome and the Tribunes' power, whose help was granted merely for his instant prayers, and not of right. Well, Rise up, Q. Fabius, and live, a more happy man for this agreement of the city in thy defence, than for that victory, upon which erewhile thou barest thyself so bravely. Live (I say) thou that hast been so bold to commit that fact which thine own father here, if he had been in L. Papirius' place, would never have pardoned. And as for me, into my grace and favour thou mayest come again, at thine own will and pleasure. But to the people of Rome to whom thou art beholden for thy life, thou shalt perform no greater duty and service, than that the example of this day's work may be a warning to thee for ever, to obey, as well in war as in peace, all lawful hests of superior Magistrates.'

We may glance finally at one or two examples of the high-minded tenderness towards women which is a marked feature of Livy's thought and which places his influence second only to Vergil's among such of the humanising factors of mediæval Europe as were older than the Christian Church. Some of the stories, like those of Lucretia and Volumnia, the mother of Coriolanus, are too famous to quote; perhaps the noblest of them is the story of Verginia's death by her father's

hand. The power of Livy's brevity—which allows a bare ten lines to the final scene of the tragedy—will be newly appreciated if it be compared with the prolix though not unspirited Lay of Virginia by Macaulay, himself no mean orator, when he chose. Let me rather end by quoting two less familiar passages, both eminently characteristic of Livy, one of his gentle humour, the other of his chivalrous grace.

The first is a picture of the rugged old Roman farmer and statesman, staunch Conservative and would-be Philistine, Cato the Censor ; who however gave way in his old age and learnt the Greek that he had for so many years defied and denounced. He is speaking on a question of women's rights. Twenty years earlier, at the darkest point of the struggle with Hannibal, a law called the *Lex Oppia* had forbidden women to possess more than half an oz. of gold or to wear brightly coloured dresses, the costly iridescent purple of Tyre being no doubt the chief luxury whose import was prohibited. Now that the danger was past and the sixteen years of war at last ended, the women and their lovers and husbands were eager to have the law repealed.

The whole speech of Cato against the repeal and the reply of his opponents are well worth reading,¹ though too long to quote here. But the opening passage will serve to show the humour with which Livy portrays the gruff old partisan :—

(Book XXXIV. 1. 5.) The dames of the city themselves could neither by persuasion nor advice nor authority of their husbands be kept within doors ; but do what men could, they bespread all the streets of the city, beset all the ways into the forum, entreating their husbands as they passed and went down thither, to give their consent, that seeing the good estate of the commonweal now flourished, and the private wealth of every man increased daily, their wives also might be allowed to have their gay attire again. The concourse of the women increased daily and they ventured now to approach and solicit even the Consuls, the prætors, and other magistrates.

But as for one of the Consuls, Marcus Porcius Cato by name, they could not with all their prayers, entreat him to incline unto their suit : who in the maintenance of the said law, and that it might not be revoked, spake to this effect : " My masters and citizens of Rome, if every one of us had fully resolved with himself, to hold his own, and keep the rightful authority that he hath over his own wife, less ado and trouble we should have had

¹ A brilliant though perhaps sometimes too forcible a version has been recently published by Prof. Darney Naylor of Adelaide ("More Latin and English Idiom," Cambridge, 1915).

with them all together at this day. But now having given them the head at home so much, that the curstness and shrewdness of women hath conquered our freehold there; behold, here also in public place it is trodden down and trampled under foot: and because we were not able every man to rule his own separately, now we stand in fear, and dread them all in general. Certes, I myself thought ever until now, that it was but a feigned fable and tale that went of a certain Island, wherein by a conspiracy of women all the men were murdered every one, and that sex utterly made away. But well I see now, be they creatures never so weak, let them once have their meetings, their conventicles and secret conferences, they will work mischief in the highest degree, and be as dangerous as any other."

The rest of the speech is taken up with two arguments, the first one which, I believe, is known to suffragists as 'the thin end of the wedge'; the second is a general, and quite sincere, plea for simplicity of living. The reply of Valerius is what one would expect from that noble house, dignified, liberal, and chivalrous; and the end of the story is that the matter was settled by a little "peaceful picketing".

After debate of words passed in this wise, in favour and disfavour of the law, the day following, the women flocked in greater multitudes into the open streets; and banding themselves together, as it were, in one troop, they beset the doors and houses of the Bruti, the tribunes who were threatening to interpose their veto upon the bill preferred by their fellow-tribunes: and the women never gave over to keep this stir, until those tribunes slackened in their opposition; which done, there was no doubt then, but all the tribes with one voice would abrogate and abolish the old law. Thus twenty years after the enacting thereof, it was repealed.

Lastly, consider the picture of the young Scipio, a man whom Livy admired, but with some reserves.¹ In the year 210 or 209 B.C. in the middle of the Hannibalic War, Scipio had just taken New Carthage, the chief stronghold of the Carthaginians in Spain.

(Book XXVI. 50.) After this there was presented unto him by his soldiers, a maiden of ripe years, taken also prisoner: but so surpassing in beauty that wheresoever she went, every man's eye was upon her in admiration. Scipio having enquired in what country she was born and of what parents, among other things learned that she was affianced to a young Prince of the Celtiberians, whose name was Allucius. Forthwith he sent home to her parents and her betrothed to repair unto him: and in the

¹ 'We see' (writes a distinguished Irish scholar, Prof. R. Mitchell Henry, in the Introduction to his recent edition of Book XXVI., p. 12) 'the lofty airs and self-approving virtue, the genuine kindliness and bonhomie of the young patrician, too kindly to be a prig and too young to know how near he is to being one.'

meantime, he heard that her husband that should be was wonderfully enamoured of her, and ready to die for her love. So soon as Allucius was come Scipio entered into more careful speech with him, than he did either with the father or mother of the maiden, and in these terms he entertained him. "I am a young man," quoth he, "as well as yourself. Come on therefore, let us, young men both, commune together more freely and be not too coy and bashful one to the other. When your espoused wife taken captive by our soldiers was brought unto me and when I heard of the exceeding affection that you cast unto her, I believed it full well; for her singular beauty deserveth no less. Now, for as much as myself, if I might be allowed to use the pastimes of youth,—especially in an honest and lawful love,—and were not called away by the common-weal, and employed wholly in affairs of state, I would think to be pardoned if I had an extraordinary liking to a betrothed of mine own; I must therefore needs favour and tender your love, which is the thing I can, considering that I may not the other in any wise. Your sweetheart I have entertained as well and as respectfully as she should have been with your father and mother-in-law, her own parents. Safe kept she hath been for you alone, that you might receive her at my hands, a gift unspotted and untouched and beseeching me and you both. In recompense, therefore, of this boon, I require at your hands again this one promise and covenant, that you will be a friend and wellwisher to the people of Rome. And if you take me indeed to be a good and honest man, such as these nations here in Spain have known my father and uncle to have been before me; know you thus much, that in the city of Rome there are many more like unto us; and that there cannot at this day a nation in the world be named which you would wish less to be an enemy to you and yours, or desire more to entertain as your friend."

The young gentleman being abashed for very modesty and yet right joyful withal, held Scipio by the hand, called upon all the gods, and besought them in his behalf, to thank and recompense him therefor, since it lay not in his own proper power in any measure to make requital, either as himself could wish or as Scipio had deserved. Then were the parents and kinsfolk of the maid called for: who seeing the damsel, freely given them again, for whose ransom and redemption they had brought with them a good round sum of gold, fell to entreating Scipio, to vouchsafe to accept the same at their hands, as a gift; assuring him, that in his so doing they should count themselves no less beholden unto him, than for the restoring and delivering of the maid. Scipio seeing them so earnest and importunate, promised to receive it, and withal, commanded that it should be laid down at his feet. Then calling Allucius unto him, "Here," quoth he, "over and besides your other dowry which your father-in-law must pay you, have from me thus much more money wherewith to mend your marriage; take this gold therefore to yourself, and keep it for your own use." So after this rich reward given, and honour done unto him, Allucius was dismissed, and departed home with much joy and heart's content: where he filled the ears and minds of his country-men with right and just praises of Scipio; saying, there was come into Spain, a young man most resembling the im-

mortal gods; who as well by bounty, and bestowing benefits, as by force of arms, is in the very way to conquer all. So when he had assembled and mustered all his vassals, he returned within few days, accompanied with a train of fourteen hundred of the best and most choice horsemen of his country.'

'No historian,' said Quintilian¹ of Livy, 'has ever represented feeling more perfectly, especially feelings of the gentler sort (*praecipue eos qui sunt dulciores*).' And in this too his spirit is proven kin to the great painters who made glorious the later days of his Venetian race.

¹ x. l. 101.

DREAMS AND PRIMITIVE CULTURE.¹

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THE influence of dreams upon the lives of savage and barbarous peoples is a theme which has often attracted the interest of students of human culture. These phantom visitations of the night have done much to determine human beliefs concerning the nature of the soul and of its continued existence after death,² and many peoples still trust greatly in the value of dreams as guides to the ordering of their daily conduct.

It is not, however, with this aspect of the subject that I shall deal in this lecture. Its purpose is rather to compare the psychological characteristics of the dream with those of the ruder forms of human culture. I propose to consider the psychological mechanism by means of which the dream is produced, and then to compare this mechanism with the psychological characters of the social behaviour of those rude peoples who are our nearest representatives of the early stages of human progress.

This subject has recently been taken up with much enthusiasm by the psycho-analytical school of psychologists, Freud and Jung and their followers. These writers have paid especial attention to the myth³ and have tried to show, with a certain degree of success, that the product of the collective mind has much in common with the dream. They believe that the myth of a people comes into being through the action of laws very similar to those which produce the dream of the individual.

I do not propose now to discuss the value of this work. In its

¹ Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, April 10, 1918.

² For instance, E. B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture," London, 1871, vol. i., p. 397; H. Spencer, "Principles of Sociology," London, 1885, vol. i., p. 132.

³ Cf. K. Abraham, "Dreams and Myths," New York, 1912; F. Ricklin, "Wishfulfilment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales," New York, 1915 (Nos. 15 and 21 of Nervous and Mental Diseases, Monograph Series).

present form it is open to serious criticism from several points of view. My aim on the present occasion is to extend the field of comparison. The relation of the dream to the myth forms but one part of the far larger problem concerned with the psychological relations of the dream to human culture in general, and especially to those less developed of its forms which we are accustomed to regard as primitive.

The wider problem has been approached by Freud himself in his book on "*Totem und Tabu*".¹ This work does not deal explicitly with the dream, but with the relation between certain manifestations of primitive culture and the symptoms of neurosis. In it Freud compares a number of social customs and beliefs with the behaviour and ideas of sufferers from different forms of functional nervous disorder. Only here and there does he refer to the dream. It is, however, a prominent feature of Freud's scheme of psychology that the processes which produce the dream are of the same kind as those which underlie the neuroses, so that a relation of totem and taboo to the dream is implied.

It is perhaps because Freud has dealt explicitly with neuroses rather than with dreams that he seems to have overlooked a number of remarkable resemblances between the psychology of dreams and that of the ruder forms of human culture. A more important reason, however, is that Freud's interest has been absorbed by certain special features of his psychological scheme, such as the rôle of incest in the production of dreams and neuroses. He has consequently neglected a number of resemblances which are not only closer, but of greater importance, than those considered in "*Totem und Tabu*". Some of these resemblances, and especially those connected with the subject of symbolism, have frequently been mentioned by writers of the psycho-analytical school, but no one has hitherto treated them systematically.

Though I shall deal with my subject in a manner widely different from that of Freud, yet the scheme of dream-psychology which I adopt is in the main that which we owe to the genius of this worker. I cannot on this occasion attempt to justify my adherence to Freud in this respect. It must be enough to say that this adherence is based on an investigation of dreams during the last two years, of which I hope

¹ Leipzig u. Wien, 1913.

to give a full account in the near future. This study has led me to accept, though with some important modifications, Freud's scheme of the processes by which the dream is produced.

The first and most essential feature of Freud's theory is that according to which the dream as we remember it, and record or relate it,—the manifest content of the dream—is the product of a process of transformation. By means of this process the motives producing the dream,—the latent content of the dream, or the dream-thoughts,—often find expression in a form differing profoundly from that by which they would be expressed in the usage of the ordinary waking life. Freud is accustomed to speak of this process as one of distortion and in many ways the term is appropriate. It has come to stand, however, in a close relation to a feature of Freud's scheme according to which it is the function of the transformation to disguise the real nature of the dream, so that the sleeper shall not recognise the motives by which it has been prompted. Since for the present I do not wish to commit myself to this portion of Freud's scheme, I shall abstain from using a term with which it is so closely connected. I shall therefore speak of the process by which the latent content of the dream manifests itself as one of transformation. Those familiar with Freud's work will recognise that my "transformation" corresponds almost exactly to his "distortion".

I will begin by considering the various processes through which this transformation comes about,—the dream-work of Freud. Departing slightly from Freud's own mode of exposition, I shall consider these under the headings of dramatisation, symbolisation, condensation, displacement, and secondary elaboration.

The dream has a dramatic character in which its events unroll themselves before the sleeper and preserve this character even if the dreamer himself is one of the actors. The dramatic quality is a property of the dream itself. The process by which this character is acquired is one of those by which the latent is transformed into the manifest content of the dream, the dream-thoughts finding expression by means of a process of dramatisation.

This dramatic character would hold good whatever view be held concerning the nature of the transformation, or indeed if no such transformation took place at all. The next process, that of symbolisation, implies a relation between the underlying motive of the dream and the form in which this motive is expressed, this relation being of such a kind

that the image of the manifest dream is a concrete symbol of the thought, emotion, or sentiment which forms its latent motive. Thus, thoughts and anxiety about a person who is out of harmony with his surroundings may find expression in a game of billiards in which the place of one of the balls is taken by a cup and saucer, or motives connected with the dreamer's personal safety may be represented by a burglar's life-preserver.

The process of condensation is one by means of which events which may range from those of the previous day back to the infancy of the dreamer, and thoughts and emotions connected with these events, find expression in the dream by some simple image or group of images. Thus, the life-preserver just mentioned may express a long story of the relations between a physician and a homicidal patient, while thoughts and anxieties concerning a suicidal patient may also contribute, the image of the dream being in this case the highly condensed product of two different sets of thoughts and emotions.

This condensation necessarily involves some degree of displacement of interest. If several different thoughts find their expression in a single image, certain interests arising out of one part of the latent content may be represented by an image with which they seem to have no natural connection. If the dream contains a number of images, symbolising different dream-thoughts, the interests which would seem to find their natural expression in one of the images may be transferred to another. Freud attaches special importance to a form of displacement in which an affective or emotional state which forms the most prominent motive of a dream finds expression, not in the form which would seem to be its most natural symbol, but in some apparently insignificant image of the dream. A frequent example of displacement is that in which a wish or other affective state of the dreamer's mind finds expression in the word or act of some other person.

Secondary elaboration is Freud's term for the process by which the dream attains such congruity and coherence as it possesses. He attaches especial importance to a process by which the phantasy of a day-dream is taken into the dream of the night, of which it comes to form part, preserving its relatively coherent structure. Freud's treatment of this process is closely bound up with his concept of the censor, a kind of personification of part of the unconscious which controls its more deeply lying elements. According to Freud the

ensor exercises a power of selective choice by which only certain elements of unconscious experience are allowed to manifest themselves in the dream, and then only in such altered guise that their real nature is not recognised by the dreamer. Freud regards the processes which have been described, dramatisation, symbolisation, condensation, displacement and secondary elaboration, as designed to distort the real meaning of the dream so that this shall not disturb and awake the sleeper.

Passing now from the processes of the dream-work to the dream-thoughts which thus find expression we come to the rôle of desire in the causation of the dream.

According to Freud every dream expresses the fulfilment of a wish, the most prominent underlying motive of every dream being some wish on the part of the dreamer. That a vast number of dreams can be so explained stands beyond all doubt, the expression being sometimes direct and subject to no special transformation, especially in the case of children and uneducated persons. There are, however, many dreams which can only be so explained on these lines if the term "wish" be used in an indirect and unusual sense, whereas they receive a natural explanation if they be the expression of some other emotional state such as anxiety, fear or shame. Desire is only one, though probably the most frequent, of the affective states to which dreams are due.

Another problem which will have to be considered is concerned with the part taken by sexual motives in the production of the dream. According to Freud, sexual motives form the predominant elements in the experience which is manifested in the dream. Freud uses the term "sexual" with a far wider connotation than that usually assigned to it in ordinary speech, but even if this be taken into account, there is no doubt that he has over-rated the frequency with which sexual elements enter into the production of the dream, while many of his disciples have far outrun in this respect the greater discretion of their master. Freud himself has provided us with abundant evidence in his "*Traum-Deutung*" that dreams may depend on such motives as professional jealousy, self-reproaches concerning patients, and other affective states incident upon the life and work of a physician.

I must be content with this brief description of the chief characters of the dream. I can now turn to the special task of this paper and inquire how far these characters apply to rude culture in general.

Dramatisation.—There is little question that dramatic representation has appealed to mankind from an early stage of his development, not so much as a means of amusement and instruction as among ourselves, but rather because he has attached special significance to mimetic representation and has believed that such representation has effects similar to or identical with those of the acts represented. Though we can have no direct evidence of such dramatic representation in palæolithic times, the rock-paintings and other forms of pictorial or plastic art of the Aurignacian and Magdalenian show clear evidence of ideas of a dramatic kind. The art of these peoples, and especially its situation in the darkest and most secluded parts of caves, receives its most natural explanation on the assumption that it was designed to bring success in the activities which it represented.

Dramatic representation is very prominent in the rites of existing savage and barbarous peoples. It is a feature of the ritual of all early forms of religion, being definitely present, for instance, in the Mass of the early Christian Church, the details of which become most readily intelligible as elements of a dramatic representation of the life and death of Christ.

Among existing savage peoples, dramatic representation goes far more deeply into the texture of their lives than would appear if we attend only to its place in religious ritual. It shows itself in many of the practices of their every-day life. Thus, the rich and complicated customs of avoidance between relatives which are practised by so many peoples may be regarded as a kind of dramatic representation, expressing certain sentiments arising out of the relation between the sexes, or, as I have tried to show,¹ out of those existing between migrant and indigenous peoples. Again, the large group of customs which were for long supposed to be relics of marriage by capture from hostile tribes receive a natural explanation as dramatic representations of sentiments formerly set up by relations between immigrant and indigenous peoples which made necessary the taking of women by force.²

The close resemblance between dreams and primitive culture in respect of the prominence in both of the dramatic quality becomes the more striking when we consider why dramatic representation should

¹ W. H. R. Rivers, "History of Melanesian Society," Cambridge, 1914, vol. ii., p. 333.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 107.

bulk more largely in the minds of savage and barbarous peoples than among ourselves.

The dramatic quality of the dream is certainly due in large measure to the necessity for expression by means of sensory images. Thoughts may occur in dreams unaccompanied by such images, though even here images of some form of speech are probably more prominent than in the waking state. By far the larger part of the dream consists of definite images of sight and hearing, those of smell, taste, touch, temperature or pain, being, in the majority of persons, much less frequent. Often the images by which the dream-thoughts are expressed are more vivid than those of waking life, while persons in whom sensory imagery is almost or wholly absent when awake may see and hear the occurrences of a dream as definitely as if they formed a part of real life.

Similarly, there is reason to believe that sensory imagery is more vivid and more necessary to the savage than to civilised persons, many of whom are able to conduct their lives so as to be indistinguishable from the rest though the power of expressing their thoughts by means of sensory imagery is very defective or even wholly absent.

A difference in such a subjective character as the vividness of imagery among different peoples is not, of course, a theme on which it is possible to produce direct evidence, but the conclusion that imagery is especially vivid and necessary among savage peoples fully accords with their almost exclusive interest in the concrete, with the high degree of development of their powers of observation, and with the accuracy and fullness of memory of the more concrete events of their lives. This conclusion is supported by observation of their demeanour when describing events they have witnessed. I well remember the first time on which I had the opportunity of observing this. On Murray Island, where I gained my first acquaintance with savage people, courts were held by a British official in collaboration with the native chiefs, at which disputes were settled and offences punished. On the first occasion on which I attended these courts an old woman gave a vigorous and animated account of her experience in relation to the case. As she gave her evidence she looked first in one direction and then in another with a keenness and directness which showed beyond doubt that every detail of the occurrences she was describing was being enacted before her eyes. I have never seen a European show by his

or her demeanour with any approach to the behaviour of this old woman, how closely knowledge and memory depended on sensory imagery. I suggest, therefore, that as in the dream, the need for expression by means of sensory imagery furnishes the chief motive for the prominence of the dramatic quality in primitive culture. People who have to rely on imagery in order to remember will necessarily put their experience into such concrete and imaged form as will enable it to be grasped and held. Such a dramatic quality will be perhaps even more necessary when sentiments, and the memory of occurrences on which the sentiments are based, are to pass with success from one generation to another. It is natural, for example, that such sentiments as those existing between an indigenous people and aliens settled among them with regard to marriage should pass from generation to generation in a dramatic form. It is natural that this form should persist when the original relations have entirely disappeared in the complete fusion of the two peoples, producing what we call a "survival" of the state of society in which the dramatic representation had its origin.

Symbolisation.—The second special character of the dream is the expression of its deeper sense by means of symbols. Here again, the importance of this character in the culture of savage and barbarous peoples stands beyond all doubt. We cannot point to such clear evidence of its presence in palæolithic times as in the case of dramatisation, but there is much in the art of this period which will become easier to understand if we look for symbolic rather than direct meanings in many of its presentations. Even if we concede that the mangled hands of the Aurignacian caves are the direct reproduction of members from which digits have been severed, we are still left with the problem why these hands should be represented at all and why they should take so prominent a place in the pictorial art of this period.

Among existing peoples of rude culture the importance of symbolic representation is evident. When beginning to write this paper, I started to collect instances from the first volume of my "History of Melanesian Society," but gave it up because I found that I should have to cite nearly every page of the book which recorded any form of ceremonial.

All varieties of symbolism occur in Melanesia, ranging from such obvious examples as the representation of clouds by smoke, thunder

by beating the shell of a coconut, lightning by the rapid opening and shutting of clam-shells, and the rainbow by a bright orange-coloured fruit strung on a creeper,¹ to such an indirect and apparently irrational symbol as the representation of an absent child by a coconut.² A native of Mota in the Banks Islands who is marking out a plot of ground which is to be the property of an unborn child carries a dried coconut under his left arm or on his left shoulder as a symbol of his purpose. These examples are taken from magic and social custom, and symbolic representation is even more frequent in religious ritual.

This use of a concrete object as a symbol of abstract relations or vague sentiments difficult of expression by means of language is probably to be connected with the great prominence of sensory imagery in the mental processes of savage and barbarous Man. The relations which should exist between a man and his wife's brother are kept in mind the better and their importance the more fully realised if they are represented by some kind of concrete imagery which comes to form a symbol of the relations in question.

Moreover, to such people that which we call a symbol is much more than we understand when we use the term. To them there is an idea of community or identity of interest between an object and its symbol which is difficult for us to understand. The best known example of this community or identity of interest, which has over and over again aroused the interest of students of anthropology, occurs in the relation between a person and that special symbolic representation of him which we call his name.

Condensation.—The two characters which I have just considered as common to the dream and primitive culture are such as could be demonstrated quite apart from any special mode of interpreting dreams such as that which I have made the basis of this lecture. The character I have now to consider is one which is intimately connected with this question of interpretation. When we speak of condensation in relation to the dream, we mean that feature whereby the manifest content of the dream is the highly abbreviated and synthetic product of the life-long experience of the dreamer. The process of condensation is one in which a vast body of experience finds expression in perhaps

¹ W. H. R. Rivers, "History of Melanesian Society," Cambridge, 1914, vol. i., p. 157.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 56.

only a single incident of a dream. According to this view any immediate and obvious interpretation of a dream is almost certain to be false or at least incomplete, while any attempt to interpret a dream in a vague general manner as the result of a natural tendency to personify or represent in some other concrete manner is wholly inadequate. Only when the life-history of the dreamer has been thoroughly examined from every point of view which can possibly concern his dream is the investigator satisfied that he is getting somewhere near the truth.

Those who are acquainted with the recent course of speculation among students of early culture, especially in this country, will see how nearly we are approaching the point of view adopted by those who are trying to explain this culture on historical lines. The description which I have just given of the way in which Freud and his followers endeavour to interpret dreams might have been taken, with a few words changed, from a discussion of to-day concerning the interpretation of some element of primitive culture.

Wholly independently of one another, two groups of students concerned with widely different aspects of human behaviour have been led by the facts to adopt an almost identical standpoint and closely similar methods of inquiry. Both agree in basing their studies upon a thorough-going determinism according to which it is held that every detail of the phenomena they study, whether it be the apparently phantastic and absurd incident of a dream, or to our eyes the equally phantastic and ridiculous rite or custom of the savage, has its definite historical antecedents and is only the final and highly-condensed product of a long and complex chain of events. In this matter of condensation we meet a fundamental problem of those sciences which deal with human behaviour, whether individual or collective.

Human culture abounds in examples of condensation. Thus, to return to an example already mentioned, I may cite the carrying of a coconut by a native of the Banks Islands as the symbol or representative of a child on whose behalf he is marking out a plot of ground. Here the observer from another country would see a man carrying a coconut as he marked out his land. On inquiry he would find that the man attached great importance to this simple object and regarded its use as essential to the proper performance of the social ceremony in which he was engaged. On investigation our observer would find that the

coconut was used on other occasions as the representative of the human head and that the head was regarded as the representative of the body as a whole. If he were an anthropologist of the old school, he would point out how natural it is that the head with its eminently noble characteristics, the seat of the chief senses and of the more obvious organs of speech, should be chosen as the symbol of personality. If, instead of being content with this facile interpretation, he probed more deeply and extended the field of his inquiries, he would find that definite ideas were associated with the head in which sanctity and dangerousness were combined. He would learn that the heads, especially of certain persons, must not be touched, and that it is believed to be especially dangerous to pass above the heads of these persons. If the inquirer went further afield to Indonesia, a region which has certainly had much influence on Melanesian culture, he would find that the head is regarded as the seat of an entity, called "soul-substance" by the Dutch ethnographers to whom we owe our chief knowledge of this region. This entity which, regarded from one point of view is a kind of vital principle or essence, and from another point of view is what we ordinarily understand as the soul, is believed to be capable of leaving the body, usually passing out by the anterior fontanelle.¹ Our anthropologist would learn that the people ascribe death or disease to the loss of this soul and that there are definite ideas of danger in contact with the soul-substance of another person. The place of exit of the soul-substance on the top of the head almost certainly explains why it should elsewhere be regarded as so dangerous to pass above the head of another and why ideas of both danger and sanctity should attach to this part of the body.

The sketch I have just given may not wholly correspond with the true course of historical development of the Melanesian custom, but it illustrates a process which stands beyond all doubt, a process by which a long and highly complex chain of events finds expression in savage culture in some highly simple and concrete manner. Just as the disciple of Freud is not content to regard the image of a dream as due to the incongruous and irrational nature of this manifestation of mind, but does not rest until he has traced it back to events in the life-history of the dreamer, back even to his early infancy, so the modern student

¹ W. J. Perry, "The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia," Manchester, 1918, p. 149.

of human culture does not accept a simple, even if apparently obvious, explanation of a savage custom as the expression of a need to personify or symbolise. He is not content until he has traced out the history of the custom, and should not relax his vigilance until his search has led him back to the infancy of the human race.

Just as a simple dream-image, described in a line of print, may require a chapter to enable its full meaning to be recorded, so does such an object as the coconut of the Melanesian cultivator, seen at a glance and described in a phrase, require a whole chapter or even volume to record its complete history and trace out the various influences which have led to its choice as a symbol.

Displacement.—The process of condensation which I have just considered is not limited to rude forms of culture. It is equally a feature of our own or any other advanced civilisation, just as, properly speaking, condensation is true of the waking as well as of the sleeping life. Every object we see, every word we utter, has a long and highly complex history behind it. It has been necessary, however, to consider the process of condensation at some length in order to understand how the concept of displacement derived from the study of the dream also applies to primitive human culture. As we have already seen, displacement in the dream signifies a process by which the interests associated with one motive are transferred from that image by which they would naturally be expressed to some other. A process resembling this exists in all culture, but it is much less striking in civilised than in rude society. Thus, the historical process by which any object we use, such as the paper on which, or the pen with which I write, is the final result of a long series of transitions in the course of which there has been displacement from one kind of material to another and from one to another form of technical contrivance, but such displacements are slight and orderly beside those which have been exemplified in the history I have cited of the coconut of the Melanesian agriculturalist. It would be difficult to find in the history of any modern object or institution such an extensive and apparently incongruous example of displacement as that by which a belief in a vital principle localised in the head has led to the use of a coconut as the representative of an unborn child. The Melanesian who believes in the sanctity and dangerous character of the human head is interested in the head for its own sake. So far as we know, he has no idea that this interest is derived from a

belief in the presence of a vital essence in this part of the body, though the belief in a vital principle or soul is present among his people in another form, having perhaps suffered displacement in some other direction.

Once we know the history of the custom and the reasons for these displacements, the final form in which the process finds expression among the Melanesians or other savage people no longer appears grotesque or irrational. It is seen to be the logical and natural outcome of a definite chain of causation just as the equally grotesque and seemingly equally irrational image of a dream becomes intelligible and natural when we have traced it back to its source and discovered the reason for the displacements to which its motives have been subject. Both dream and savage custom appear senseless or absurd because in each case we are viewing the final and highly condensed product of a process leading back to times widely remote from our present standpoint, going back, it may be, in the one case to the infancy of the individual ; in the other, to the infancy of the race.

Secondary Elaboration.—As we have seen, this term is used by Freud for that part of the dream-work by means of which the manifest dream attains such sense and congruity as it may possess. Without necessarily accepting Freud's special interpretation of this process which he supposes to assist in the disguise of the real meaning of the dream by the censor, we must acknowledge the existence of a process whereby the symbolic expressions of a long history are woven together to form a scene which, at any rate at the moment it is experienced, has a certain amount of coherence, though often of a peculiar kind. As we all know, dreams differ greatly in their degree of coherence and apparent rationality, and this is due to differences in the extent to which the process of sensory elaboration has been in action.

We have here to do with a process which is less definite and less clearly worked out by Freud than the other features of the dream-work, and consequently there is an element of uncertainty in attempting to discover its counterpart in early culture. I will begin by pointing to the fact, obvious though it be, that just as we experience dreams differing greatly in coherence and apparent rationality, so when we examine examples of human culture widely different from our own we find striking differences in the corresponding characters, while in any one people we find that different parts of their ritual or customary be-

haviour show similar differences in intelligibility from our point of view.

According to the general line of the argument followed in this lecture, we must suppose that this is due to different degrees in which a process corresponding to the secondary elaboration of the dream has been in action. If we examine the histories of customs which seem to us the more coherent and rational, we find that often they show the presence of the same elements, or elements which correspond very closely with those which have helped to produce the customs which seem to us absurd or meaningless. On inquiry we find that the difference between the two kinds of custom is that in the one case these elements have undergone constructive development on lines approximating to those of our own culture, while in the other there has either been no such development or it has proceeded along different lines.

Thus, to return to the example I have used to illustrate other parts of my argument, the use of a coconut in the way I have described as the outcome of a belief in the localisation of the vital essence in the head is but one example of the need for concreteness and symbolic representation which I have supposed to be characteristic of early forms of mentality.

Elsewhere, including other parts of Melanesia, the belief in the presence of the vital principle in the head has led to the development of a cult which, though strange to us, is yet in itself quite coherent and rational. Thus, in the Western Solomons, the head of a dead relative is preserved in a shrine, this shrine forming an abode to which the ghost may resort in order to receive the offerings of his descendants.

In still other places, again including parts of Melanesia, the same belief has become the motive for a definite system of warfare, in itself coherent and rational, the main object of which is to obtain the heads of enemies in order that they shall act as representatives of the captured victims who were formerly sacrificed. Here the belief in the localisation of the vital principle in the head has been elaborated to produce a special kind of warfare and in some places, as in the Solomon Islands, this mode of warfare has so developed that it has come to form a highly complex religious ritual, the performance of which may extend over years before and after a head-hunting expedition.

This process of secondary elaboration is very prominent in the neuroses, and has consequently been commented upon by Freud in

"Totem und Tabu".¹ Although the characteristics of the dream considered in this lecture are those first pointed out by Freud, secondary elaboration is alone mentioned in this book.

Disguise and Censorship.—The topics with which I have so far dealt are features of the dream-work, the reality of which I believe to be demonstrable. The subject now to be considered, though it takes a most prominent place in the scheme of Freud, is far more open to question. According to Freud the process of transformation of the latent into the manifest content, is definitely designed to disguise from the dreamer the real meaning of his dream. It is supposed that the distortion and disguise are effected by the action of an endopsychic agent which Freud calls the "censor". This censor is supposed carefully to scrutinise all which comes up from the unconscious, and only to allow that to pass which is so distorted that its real nature shall not be recognised by the dreamer.

Leaving aside for the moment the validity of this concept, let us inquire how far any similar process can be discerned in social culture. It is obvious, of course, that such a parallel exists, for Freud's concept and terminology are directly derived from a social institution. His endopsychic censor performs just such functions as would be appropriate to an exceedingly unscrupulous censorship of the Press, which not merely stops certain news from passing but deliberately falsifies that which it allows to pass. In this lecture, however, I am not concerned with social parallels in general, but with the comparison of dreams with the ruder forms of human culture. Let us inquire, therefore, whether there is anything corresponding to Freud's concept of the censor in the culture of savage peoples. Such parallels are certainly present. The culture of rude peoples abounds in features whereby those in power, especially priests and sorcerers, deliberately mystify the general body of the population. This disguise and mystification reach their acme in the secret fraternities which are found in so many parts of the world. These are organisations possessing knowledge which is only allowed to reach the general body of the people in some distorted and misleading form, effectually disguising its real nature. The widespread distribution of such organisations suggests that there is a tendency in rude society to act and react in a manner not far removed from that ascribed by Freud to his endopsychic censor.

¹ Pp. 60 and 87.

There is reason to believe that the knowledge thus inaccessible to the people at large has come from elsewhere,¹ having been derived from external cultures of which even those who act as its custodians have no tradition. The knowledge thus guarded is closely analogous to the unconscious experience of the individual in that it belongs to a remote past which has become inaccessible. In the secret societies we seem to have guardians of this unconscious experience who only allow its content to reach the general public in some disguised form. It is worthy of note that such esoteric knowledge is with especial frequency the motive of dramatic and symbolic representation. Of all the facts collected by me in Melanesia none show the dramatic quality and the use of symbolism more definitely than the ritual of the secret organisation of the Banks Islands called the *Sukwe*.²

Before I leave this aspect of the subject, I must refer briefly to the function which Freud ascribes to his mechanism of censorship. He supposes that the sleeper is thereby protected from being disturbed and awakened by thoughts which would have this effect if they came up from the unconscious in their real guise. According to this view the nightmare is due to the failure of the censor who is helpless before the overpowering strength of some emotional stress calling for expression, and in some cases, as in many dreams of warfare, is forced to let the experience through without transformation of any kind. Here the social parallel is obvious. The ruler, priest, or sorcerer, who only allows knowledge to reach the people in distorted form does so because his own power and comfort depend upon it. The social counterpart of the nightmare is the revolution. In the case of the dream as in that of the social event, the upheaval will be the greater, the more fully the controlling agencies have carried out their system of repression.

Wish-fulfilment.—I can now pass to an easier topic. Thus far I have been dealing with the nature of the processes by which the latent is transformed into the manifest content of the dream. I have now to consider the nature of the material which makes up the latent content of the dream. According to Freud this material consists wholly of wishes, or strivings actuated by desire. He believes every dream to be a wish-fulfilment. Here again, without criticising this view, let us inquire how far a similar process holds good of rude culture.

¹ W. H. R. Rivers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 210.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 61-143.

There is no question that the greater part of the rites and customary behaviour of savage, as of human culture in general, is actuated by desire. The rites of prayer and propitiation are in most cases obviously inspired by desire, while the mimetic acts by which the sorcerer attempts to induce rain, cause and cure disease, or stimulate the growth of animals or plants, are all of a kind naturally explained as the expression of desire.

It is one thing, however, to trace back the majority of savage rites and customs, on the one hand, or of dreams on the other, to wishes. It is quite another thing to say that desire is the only motive in either case. It is, of course, difficult to disentangle desire from other affective states, but there are many dreams which find their most natural motive as the expression of an emotional state in which the element of desire is far from obvious. Similarly, many savage rites and customs may be largely based on emotions such as fear or grief in which desire is far less obvious than in rites designed to bring benefits upon the individual or the community.

One striking parallel between the dream and rude culture is clearly present. There is abundant evidence that clear and manifest dreams of wish-fulfilment are especially frequent among children and uneducated persons. Similarly, the motive of desire is far more obvious and direct in the rites of savage peoples than among the more highly civilised. Though desire for benefits may have been the original motive of the rites of the more civilised, this in many cases is entirely overshadowed and transfigured by such emotional motives as adoration, thanksgiving, praise and love.

The Rôle of Sex.—According to Freud and his followers, sex plays the predominant part in providing the motives for the dream. The wishes which thus find ideal fulfilment are believed to arise in the vast majority of cases out of the needs of the sexual life. This part of Freud's scheme has aroused the liveliest opposition, and we seem now to be approaching a phase in the controversy in which the part taken by sexual motives will be underrated, the case thus obeying the law by which opinion swings alternately to one or other side of the truth.

A precisely similar movement has taken place among students of primitive culture. During the last century there was an influential school which scented sex throughout the whole texture of early culture, all kinds of rite and custom being traced to a phallic origin.

In anthropology we have now reached a stage in which no one argues for or against the influence of sexual motives in general. That motives of this kind take their part in the production of certain manifestations of culture is acknowledged by all and each case is treated on its merits.

Moreover, it is now widely recognised that we can only expect to assign its proper place to sex when we have traced out the history of each rite or custom and studied the various influences which have combined to give it its present form. The general trend of research goes to show that sexual motives are often present, and among some peoples occupy a very prominent place among the influences by which social behaviour has been moulded. There is little doubt, however, that among the majority of mankind emotions and sentiments based on the instinct of self-preservation take a far more important place as motives for rite or custom. There is reason to suppose that when sexual motives are found in apparently primitive culture, they are the result of an influence from without,¹ a product perhaps of degeneration rather than a sign of infancy.

It is noteworthy that in his comparison of primitive culture with the symptoms of neurosis, Freud himself has been led to see that sex does not take that prominent part as a motive for rite and custom which he believes it to have in the causation of neurosis. Freud explains² the difference between the two manifestations of mind which he is comparing by supposing that one deals with society, the other with the individual. He holds that sex is a matter of the individual life, and therefore regards it as natural that it should not manifest itself so strikingly in the social sphere. This mode of explanation implies a difference between the individual and the social mind which I for one am loth to accept. It is far more likely that the difference between the individual and the social put forward by Freud does not exist. A wider survey will show that in the history of human society, as in the history of the individual, sex furnishes only some of the motives by which development has been stimulated and directed. If it should appear that sexual motives are more prominent in producing the dream of the civilised person than in the determination of early rite and custom, this need not indicate any difference between the psycho-

¹ W. J. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

² "Totem und Tabu," p. 67.

logy of the individual and that of the group. It would rather indicate the fact that in general the sexual instinct is far more often the subject of repression in the civilised community.

I have now finished the comparison of the dream and of the psychological mechanism by which it is produced with the culture of rude peoples and the processes by which this culture has come to be what it is. I have now to inquire what we can learn from this comparison, what is the meaning of the remarkable series of resemblances shown by these two manifestations of the human mind.

The scheme of the mechanism of the dream which I have taken with little modification from Freud is one which lies at the foundation of the psychology of this writer. It is not necessary here to dwell on the opposition that these views have aroused, except to say that they form the best possible witness to their originality and to the greatness of Freud's discovery if the future should prove him to be right. The fact that resemblances so close should have been found in another aspect of human thought and action might well be held to provide striking confirmation of the truth of Freud's interpretation of dreams. I do not lay any great stress on this argument, but if, as I hope to show later, his scheme in its main features affords the best interpretation of the dream, then the fact that certain kinds of human culture show such close resemblances will add a corner-stone to the structure and thus contribute to its strength and stability.

I may say at once, however, that all the resemblances I have shown do not, in my opinion, necessarily imply the truth of Freud's scheme. Thus, I have shown that even so disputable a part of Freud's scheme as his doctrine of the "censor" has its definite counterpart in savage culture, and yet I believe that both the individual and the social phenomena may be explained more naturally, and more in accordance with our knowledge of other mental processes, by a different mechanism.

There is, however, another problem to the solution of which I believe the comparison of this paper supplies a definite contribution. It points strongly to the truth of the proposition that the dream is an expression of infantile mentality. This conclusion would only be justified, however, if the examples of human culture with which I have compared it were themselves representative of a primitive or infantile stage of human progress, and I must therefore consider briefly how far we are

justified in ascribing this character to the examples by which this lecture has been illustrated.

It is now widely recognised that existing savage races are not merely peoples who have been left behind in the stream of progress. They are not simply examples of early stages in the development of human culture beyond which other peoples have progressed. It can be shown that each one of them has a highly complex history in which rites and customs introduced from elsewhere, perhaps from some highly advanced society, have blended with others of a really primitive or infantile kind. From one point of view we cannot regard any existing culture as really primitive. I have tried to show elsewhere,¹ however, that introduced rites or customs only establish themselves by a process of modification or transformation which adapts them to their new home. By such a process of adaptation they necessarily come to acquire the primitive or infantile character of the culture which assimilates them.

Though existing cultures may not be primitive in the sense that they represent simple and uncontaminated stages of social development, we can safely accept the primitive character of their mentality and take them as our guides to the history of *mental* development, though they are of very questionable value as guides to the order of *social* development. We are thus justified in regarding the striking resemblances considered in this paper as evidence that the dream of the civilised individual represents a similar infantile stage of mental development.

It is necessary here to point out that when we speak of the dream as infantile, two quite different meanings must be distinguished. The proposition may mean that the dream is actuated, mainly or altogether, by motives which go back to the infancy of the dreamer, or, on the other hand, it may mean that the process by which the motives of the dream find expression are such as are characteristic of an early stage of mental development. I cannot consider these two meanings here, but must be content to point out that the evidence provided in this lecture bears only on the second of these two meanings. The interest that can be claimed for it is that it has shown the mechanism by which the dream-thoughts find expression to have the same general characters as those which have produced the rites and customs of savage man.

One important feature of the dream in its relation to primitive culture

¹ "Medicine, Magic, and Religion," "The Lancet," 1917, vol. cxciii., p. 960.

remains to be considered. It is an essential part, if not the most essential part, of Freud's scheme that the dream reveals the unconscious, that the thoughts which are manifested in the dream as we immediately experience it do not enter into consciousness in ordinary waking states. Freud's method of interpreting dreams depends on a process by which thoughts buried in the unconscious are brought to the surface. Many of the dream-thoughts which underlie the manifest content of the dream do not necessarily belong to the unconscious in this sense, but have occupied the mind shortly before the occurrence of the dream. The more deeply one goes in dream-analysis, however, the more certain does it become that dreams are essentially expressions of the unconscious. Even in those cases in which the manifest content of a dream seems at first sight to be wholly explained by recent occurrences, further study shows the existence of deeper meanings and general trends of mentation belonging to levels which do not ordinarily enter into manifest consciousness. Here again, without further criticism, let us inquire how far the social behaviour of savage peoples has its roots in the unconscious.

Anyone who has attempted to discover explanations of rude rites and customs from those who practise them will have no hesitation in accepting their origin in the unconscious. It is a striking feature of ethnographical investigation among peoples of lowly culture that it is quite impossible to obtain any rational explanation of rites and customs, even when such explanation would seem to us to be obvious. The people are content to follow without question their social customs, and to practise the often highly elaborate rites of their religion, merely because it has been so ordained by their fathers. If explanations are forthcoming they are given by sophisticated members of the community who have usually been influenced by external culture. They are the wholly untrustworthy results of a recent process of rationalisation. Here, as in the case of condensation (see p. 398), we are not dealing with a process peculiar to primitive culture. The meaning of our own social customs is quite unknown to most of us and the same is true of the details of our religious rites. When the meaning of these observances becomes known, it is not through any direct psychological insight, but is the product of historical research and scientific reasoning. The determination of social behaviour by the unconscious is not confined to rude culture, but is only somewhat more obvious in it than among more highly civilised peoples. It may be noted, however, that much the

same might be said of the dream as compared with the thoughts of the day. We have every reason to believe that our waking thoughts are largely determined by the unconscious. It is chiefly the greater obviousness of its determination by the unconscious which is characteristic of the dream.

It is, however, the special object of this lecture to demonstrate similarities between the dream and the more primitive forms of human culture. Before I leave the subject I may therefore ask whether there is any aspect of the relation of these two topics to the unconscious wherein they specially resemble one another. Such a resemblance appears if we turn from the extent to which the dream and rude culture are determined by the unconscious to the form in which the unconscious is expressed. Among the civilised, knowledge of the past rests on two foundations. One, direct tradition which, as civilisation has advanced, has come by means of writing to correspond more and more closely with the actual course of history. We all know the possibilities of transformation and distortion even with our present means of recording events, but these have become far less than in the times when tradition was handed down solely by word of mouth. The other means by which we acquire a knowledge of the past is science, that is, a body of knowledge resting upon accurately recorded facts, interpreted by strict canons of reasoning. History and science are two products of civilisation which furnish knowledge concerning the unconscious past by means of processes belonging to fully conscious levels of the mind. The more highly they are developed, the more widely do they differ from that mode of revealing the unconscious which is proper to the dream.

Among savage and barbarous peoples the place occupied by the history and science of the civilised is taken by the myth. The myth is a means of recording knowledge of the unconscious past, and, at the same time, the means by which social behaviour having its roots in this past is explained. The myth reveals the unconscious history of the race just as the dream reveals the unconscious history of the individual. Both show the same kind of expression in concrete image and dramatic form. Both are highly condensed products in which displacements of interest are very great. Both have undergone extensive processes of secondary elaboration, which in the case of the myth have adapted knowledge so as to bring it into a form suited to a rude grade of intelligence. The similarity between the dream and primitive

culture comes out strongly in the form in which the unconscious past is presented to consciousness.

I will conclude by considering two objections which might be brought against the argument of this paper. One is that I have been dealing with mere analogies. It may be accepted that for every feature and process of the dream I have found an analogy in primitive culture, and yet this, it may be said, does not prove any real community of nature.

I must be content to point to two lines on which this objection may be met. One is that the analogies I have considered, if they be only analogies, are so close and apply to so many aspects of the subject that their evidential value is raised far above that which would accrue to some two or three resemblances taken at random out of a large range of topics.

It may be said that the cultures of existing savage and barbarous peoples are so infinitely varied that if you cast your net widely enough, resemblances are sure to be found for anything. This objection is one to which I am so much alive that I have left no scope whatever for its application. I am not one of those students of anthropology who range from China to Peru to find their instances. Every illustration I have used in this paper has been drawn from the Melanesian or Papuan cultures with which I am myself familiar. Nearly every example, certainly all the more important, come from one tiny island only two miles in diameter, Mota of the Banks group. The examples I have used for comparison with the dream have been taken from as small and self-contained a social community as can be found anywhere on the earth.

The other line on which the objection can be answered is that the value of analogy as evidence of community of real nature differs greatly according as the analogous objects belong to different departments of nature or to one department. In the case before us, the dream and the savage rite or custom are but different manifestations of the activity of the human mind. The resemblances on which I have dwelt do not occur between animate objects, on the one hand, and inanimate on the other, or between the physical and mental aspects of some department of biology, but the phenomena compared belong to the realm of mind, the one individual and the other collective. The similarities between the dream and primitive culture occur in a sphere in which community of nature is to be expected.

The other objection I foresee is that the dream as I have considered it is only one out of many forms which consciousness may take in sleep. There are other kinds of dream in which experience is reproduced with complete fidelity, others in which there is but little difference between the latent and manifest contents, and others again which, in spite of a considerable amount of transformation, are yet transparent examples of wish-fulfilment with little if any displacement or disguise. The answer to the objection is that just as there are different kinds of dream, so are there different kinds of savage rite and custom. Each kind of dream that I have mentioned finds its definite counterpart in primitive culture. Lowly peoples often practise rites and customs in which they perform acts differing in no respect from those of some procedure which has come within the range of their external experience, say, some custom shown by a visitor or learnt by men of influence among them who have visited other countries. It is only necessary that it shall be of a kind which their minds can appreciate in the form in which it reaches them. The amount of transformation of an introduced custom depends largely upon the extent to which it is capable of direct assimilation, and many customs which become part of savage cultures resemble closely the experience from which they have been derived. Again, dreams of simple and direct wish-fulfilment find their counterpart in the prayer or in the simple offering of meat or drink by which the savage may express desire. The special aim of this lecture has been to find the social counterpart of those airy and phantastic structures of the sleeping life which seem to us peculiarly mysterious and unique. If I have shown that these appearances reveal the working of psychological laws identical with those producing the perhaps equally mysterious and phantastic rites and customs of the savage, I shall have succeeded in by far the most difficult portion of my task.

On such an occasion as this, it is only possible to deal with the subject in the barest outline. Each feature of the psychology of the dream to which I have endeavoured to find a counterpart in the social behaviour of savage peoples needs full and detailed consideration. The object of this lecture has been to make out a preliminary case for the essential similarity of two manifestations of the early stages of mental development; the dream as the expression of the infantile mentality of the individual; savage rite and custom as the expression of the primitive or infantile mentality of the race.

WAR AND CIVILISATION.¹

BY W. J. PERRY, B.A.

EACH of us is endowed with certain innate tendencies, termed instincts. These instincts, which have been acquired during the evolution of the human race, play a fundamental part in the lives of its members. In addition, each human being is susceptible to the influence of his surroundings, and especially to that of his fellows ; his actions are moulded according to the circumstances in which he lives, into manifold forms. Cruelty, kindness, pride, deceit, honesty, diverse modes of conduct and thought are possible, and it depends upon the relative strength of inherited tendencies and educative influences whether this, that or the other form of behaviour will result in any given circumstances. The intricate form of society in the midst of which we live produces a great variety of type and behaviour. Institutions already in existence exert their pressure upon the unsuspecting child from his earliest days, until, when arrived at maturity, he finds that, if he thinks at all about the matter, he has unconsciously acquired most of his opinions and tendencies from his surroundings.

There is a profound distinction between the innate tendencies and those acquired during life. The first—the instincts—are possessed by the whole of mankind ; while the second are only found in those who have been subjected to the action of certain formative influences, who are living in the midst of particular forms of society. This is a truism. We expect to find the institution of marriage wherever we go in some form or other, but we should be surprised to find a savage of Central Africa behaving like a London clubman, or a working man voicing the sentiments of a duke. If, therefore, a certain form of behaviour is widespread among men, if it exists in all ages and in such circumstances that its presence could not be due to purely social influ-

¹ A Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 15 February, 1918.

ences, we are entitled to say that this form of behaviour is instinctive, that it is characteristic of each member of the human family. If, on the other hand, it is only displayed by certain people and in definite circumstances, its social origin is thereby made probable.

With these general principles in mind, I will ask you this evening to consider the problem of determining the part that war has played in the development of civilisation. It is necessary first to define what is meant by a warlike people. This term can surely only apply to those peoples who attack others, not to those who fight solely in self-defence? Self-preservation will cause most human beings to defend themselves when attacked, and thus the act may be termed instinctive. But it is far otherwise in the case of acts of aggression. For a wide survey shows beyond doubt that aggressive warfare is not a common characteristic of all forms of human society. During the past half century our knowledge of the earliest stages of human society has increased enormously, and much of the handiwork of those times is known to us, so that it is possible to imagine with a certain degree of success what manner of men they were and how they lived in those days. An examination of the products of the earliest parts of the Stone Age has revealed nothing in the shape of a weapon, but merely implements designed for domestic purposes. All through the later stages of the Stone Age tools for scraping, cutting, and boring, abound and but few weapons are made (1). Even the arrow-heads of the last stages of the Palæolithic Age in Europe are incapable of killing anything much bigger than a rabbit (2). Men of the early Stone Age would have been quite equal to the task of designing weapons for combat: masters of their craft, they could easily have made pieces of jagged flint into formidable weapons. The complete absence of weapons on the early Stone Age thus constitutes strong evidence that fighting, even personal combat, was unknown at that period, or was so rare and innocuous as to be negligible. And the domestic note which is so prominent in the craft throughout the Stone Age is indicative of the main preoccupations of those times.

This evidence alone would be satisfactory enough for the purpose. But fortunately there exist peoples who, so far as is known, represent the cultural stage of very early times. They lack, in their pure state, any form of civilisation. They are hunters. They make no houses, wear no clothes, do not work metals, do not dispose of their dead, but

leave them where they die, and live in communities of relatives without social classes and holding their property in common. Such peoples are to be found in South India and Ceylon, Siberia, North America, South America, the East Indian Archipelago, Australia, and Africa, as well as in Northern Europe. These peoples are, one and all, when untouched by higher cultural influences, entirely peaceful. Wars between communities and combats between individuals do not happen (3). The existence of such peoples therefore makes it certain that a warlike form of behaviour is not a universal feature of mankind. It is not instinctive, and therefore must be due to certain causes, social or otherwise, which act upon some peoples and not on others. That being so, it is our task this evening to determine, if possible, what these causes are.

The entire lack of weapons in the earliest stages of the Stone Age and the close association between peaceful behaviour and cultural status which is exhibited by the hunting peoples, suggest that all mankind was once peaceful, and that certain peoples have emerged from the hunting stage and have somehow or other become warlike. Whether the advance in culture is a sign of innate superiority, or is the result of a process of natural selection, or of diffusion of culture or migration of peoples, is a matter to be studied, as is the relationship between the advance of culture and a warlike temper. The entire absence of any signs of warfare among the earliest peoples of the earth makes the problem historical in the sense that we can point to a time when, so far as we know, it did not exist, and it will be convenient to endeavour to find out how the warlike nations of the earth originated.

A broad preliminary survey does not appear to offer much hope of disclosing the beginnings of warfare. For, from the earliest times of which we have historical knowledge, there have been warlike states such as Egypt, Babylon, and others, whose origins cannot be discovered as yet. These states may for convenience be called the "Ancient Empires". The warlike nature of these ancient empires may be due to any of a number of causes, and to endeavour to dissect out from a consideration of the activities of these states the effective cause or causes would be a task of the greatest difficulty. I propose, therefore, to leave such states on one side for the present, and to ask you to consider those warlike peoples whose origins are known with

some degree of exactness. When we have watched the genesis of such peoples, it will then be possible once more to return to the examination of the ancient empires.

I shall survey each continent in turn, beginning with Africa.

Although the first Europeans found warlike peoples scattered practically all over Africa, there is ample evidence that formerly much of this continent was inhabited by peaceful Bushmen and Negritos, whose hunting grounds covered the whole of the region south of the Sudan and the Great Lakes. During the past thousand years or so negro races have migrated into this region. These peoples may be divided into two distinct groups. First there came tribes practising agriculture, who settled in certain spots and remained there in isolation, so that their languages became distinct. These first-comers were, and are still, quite peaceful. It therefore appears that warfare does not necessarily accompany an advance beyond the hunting stage of culture.

The second wave was of a very different constitution. The languages of the various tribes were all akin—whence they derive their generic name of Bantu—which shows that they are all intimately connected; they are pastoral, except in the basin of the Congo where natural conditions prevent this occupation; and they are all warlike (4). The similarity which exists between the warlike organisations of these Bantu peoples is emphasised by Ratzel. “The distinction between the settled agriculturalists in the West and in the interior and the restless cattle-breeders of the south, are far more sharply conspicuous than the dissolving boundaries between the dialects of Africa or between the characteristics of their anatomical structure. . . . Going south from the sixth parallel of south latitude to the south-east point of Africa, we find members of the Bantu family maintaining the sharply-defined connection between the pastoral and the warrior life; and from the same line to 5° North, three distinct groups of races live in comparatively narrow districts side by side, all keeping the same form of culture. . . . It is a gradual and slow change from the Indian Ocean through the Arab colouring to brown and deepest brown, from the Caucasic to the negroid type the languages are far apart, and yet all these races are shepherds of one and the same stamp, and all alike maintain a similar military organisation.” He speaks further of “a military organisation which . . . shows striking points of agree-



SKETCH-MAP NO. 1, SHOWING THE AREAS OF AFRICA OCCUPIED BY WARLIKE PEOPLES

ment from the most northerly Gallas to the most southerly Kaffirs," and goes on to say that "The development of a military aristocracy out of a race, rude and vigorous in itself, has been, from the point of view of politics and culture, the most important occurrence for the whole of East Africa. It has not stopped with the race from which it emanated, but has bound many races from the Fish River to the Blue Nile, more firmly together for protection, conquest and plunder. We meet with it, essentially alike in character, throughout the whole region" (5).

The source of this similarity of organisation, which Ratzel has noted, is known. The Bantu peoples are said to have spread from the region of the Great Lakes with a stereotyped form of culture which they have retained ever since. Traditions say that the great states round the Lakes were founded by light-skinned strangers who came from the north and imposed themselves upon the peaceful agriculturalists whom they found there as military aristocracies. These strangers were cattle-breeders, and thus it is that the Bantu peoples who moved out from this region carried with them a culture received from elsewhere (6).

The warfare of the Bantu peoples bears traces of its origin. For, as Stow tells us, "their wars were more cattle forays on an extensive scale than determined invasions for the purpose of securing territorial aggrandisement," and that "the warlike renown of any particular tribe seems almost in every case to have been derived more from the personal daring and energy of the particular chief ruling over them at the time than from any other causes" (7). Quarrels between chiefs or members of the aristocracy caused frequent wars, and the chiefs added slave-raiding to their activities (8).

The warfare of the peoples of the southern part of Africa is thus apparently bound up with the existence of a military aristocracy or foreign origin. The relationship between warfare and a military aristocracy is shown by Sketch-Map No. 1, from which it is evident that a similar relationship holds throughout the continent. In the Sudan, the Hausa, a peaceful agricultural and trading people, have been dominated by the Fulah, a pastoral people from Senegal. And other parts of the Sudan have been ruled by military aristocracies from North Africa and perhaps from Egypt (9). It is the essential problem of African warfare to discover the origin of these military

aristocracies which have dominated the peaceful agricultural negroes. These aristocracies have come from three regions which are indicated on Sketch-Map No. 2 : North-east Africa, Senegal, and the interior of Morocco and Algiers. The consideration of any special features common to these regions will be deferred until the survey of the earth has been completed.

Asia has been the scene of many struggles, and some of the greatest conquerors of history have emerged from various parts to work havoc and destruction over wide areas. Before examining the more warlike peoples, we will consider the peoples that inhabit the northerly parts of Siberia. Although these tribes are now spread over the inhospitable regions of the north, there is reason to believe that they have migrated comparatively recently from the south. The peaceful Lapps, Samoyedes, and tribes allied to the Finns are thought to have come from the region round the headwaters of the Obi and Yenisei. Further to the east a series of movements have taken place. The Chukchi, who now live on the coasts of the Behring Straits, have driven other tribes before them, and have in their turn been pushed on by Tunguse and others. The Yakut, probably driven out by the Buryat (who in the thirteenth century moved from the Amur to the Lake Baikal region), migrated up the Lena and introduced cattle-breeding there (10). The Siberian peoples have thus apparently spread from two regions ; one round the headwaters of the Yenisei, and the other round the headwaters of the Amur.

It is possible to divide the warlike peoples of Asia east of the Oxus region into three main groups : those of Manchuria, Mongolia, and the peoples of Turki stock. Of the three groups, those of Mongolia have undoubtedly played the most important part in history. The earliest Chinese annals tell of centuries of struggle with horse-riding nomads of Mongolia. Many great conquerors have arisen in this race, which has given several dynasties to China. The Turks have not always occupied the extended area over which they are now spread. They are supposed to have come either from the headwaters of the Yenisei, or from north-west Mongolia, or the region just east of Lake Baikal, in any case in close proximity to the Mongolians, to whom they are closely related. The accounts in the Chinese annals of wars with the peoples of Mongolia and Manchuria show that the various struggles were purely dynastic. The Huns



SKETCH-MAP No. 2, SHOWING THE CENTRES OF ORIGIN OF MILITARY
ARISTOCRACIES IN AFRICA

and allied tribes were ruled over by hereditary military aristocracies, and their rulers were constantly struggling with each other and with the emperors of China. The peoples themselves played an entirely passive part in such contests. The boundaries of kingdoms were in a perpetual state of flux. After a successful battle the conqueror would kill the old men of the defeated side, appropriate the women and children, and enrol the young men under his banners. In this way the conquests of Asia were effected. An able warrior would arise and would overcome his neighbours, who thenceforth would fight for him. Other weaker peoples would attach themselves to him from motives of self-protection, and thus his empire would grow like a snowball until he died or was defeated, when it would break up and the process would recommence with a fresh grouping. The common people simply played the part of pawns in a game of dynastic chess, to be moved according to the changing fortunes of the contest (11).

These great conquerors were not men who had risen from the ranks. Professor E. H. Parker says that, during the ten centuries that the Chinese struggled with the Huns, there is no mention of the succession ever having gone out of the direct line of descent in the royal family. Some of the Tartar emperors of China themselves recognised the supreme importance of royal blood, for they extirpated, if possible, the whole family of a defeated rival, including collateral branches. In some cases they did not succeed, with disastrous results to their descendants (12).

The earliest inhabitants of India of which we have knowledge were tribes similar in physique and culture to the peaceful Veddas of Ceylon and hill tribes of southern Madras. The first known warlike kingdoms were built up by Dravidians and Aryans. The origin of the Dravidians is not known. They founded kingdoms in the Deccan and further south. Their three kingdoms in the extreme south, those of Chola, Pandya and Chera, are said to have been founded by three brothers from Korkai, a place on the Gulf of Manaar between India and Ceylon. These kingdoms are, so far as is known, the earliest in the south of India, and the introduction of warfare cannot, so far as is known at present, be associated with any but the founders of these three kingdoms (13).

The earliest warlike people of northern India of whom we have

positive knowledge are the Aryans. They were ruled over, in the period when trustworthy historical knowledge concerning them is first available, by a military aristocracy. Before their spread over the valley of the Ganges and to places such as Java, they were confined to the Panjab (14).

An important group of warlike peoples are those who have swarmed over Indo-China during the past two thousand years, the Tibeto-Burman group, who are said to have come from the region in Yunnan about the headwaters of the Yang-tse-kiang (15).

The warlike or peaceful habits of Asiatic peoples correspond closely with the presence or absence of a military aristocracy. Sketch-Map No. 3 shows the general agreement—the peaceful democratic hunting peoples, and the warlike peoples with a military aristocracy. In the warlike area the variations in behaviour correspond closely with the fates of dynasties. The early history of China is one of constant struggles between their ruling families and those of the Tartars and others. All the Chinese dynasties of whom we have certain knowledge are, moreover, of alien origin. The Chinese peoples are now, and must always have been, peaceful by nature, for how otherwise could a handful of Manchus have governed 300,000,000 people who hate them? And now that they have finally rid themselves of this incubus, the Chinese are entirely peaceful. The people of Mongolia, once so warlike, are to-day peaceful. The former conquerors of the world, now that their aristocracies are extinct or emasculated, are described as being cowardly to a degree (16). The Hindu people of India, who were warlike when they had a military aristocracy, are now peaceful, and warrior aristocracies are extinct except among certain peoples such as the Rajputs and some warlike hill tribes.

There are some remarkable contrasts in behaviour between Asiatic peoples who are closely related; for example between the peaceful Tunguse and their warlike Manchu kinsmen; the Japanese with their warrior aristocracy and martial spirit, and the closely-related peaceful people of the Lu Kiu islands (17); the warlike Turks of the west, and their peaceful relatives in the Lake Baikal region.

The problem of Asiatic warfare is thus apparently to discover the origin of military aristocracies. Those of the Manchurian peoples sprang from the region indicated on Sketch-Map No. 4, those of the Turks and some of the Mongolian peoples from the region extending



SKETCH-MAP No. 3, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF WARLIKE AND PEACEFUL
PEOPLES IN ASIA



SKETCH-MAP NO. 4, SHOWING THE CENTRES OF ORIGIN OF MILITARY
ARISTOCRACIES IN ASIA



SKETCH-MAP No. 5, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTIONS OF WARLIKE AND PEACEFUL
PEOPLES IN NORTH AMERICA IN PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES

from the headwaters of the Yenisei to those of the Amur; the Aryans spread over India from the Panjab, and the Tibeto-Burman conquerors came from Yunnan. The problem is therefore similar to that presented by the warfare of Africa. It is necessary to explain why warrior aristocracies have emerged from certain definite areas in Manchuria, Mongolia, Southern Siberia, the Panjab, Korkai and Yunnan to found kingdoms in various parts of the continent (18).

In North America, just before the arrival of Columbus, warlike tribes occupied the region between the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi and the Atlantic Ocean, a strip of land in the north-west, and the rest of the vast area, with the exception of Mexico (which may be included among the Ancient Empires) and its northern extension in the area of the Pueblo Indians, was either uninhabited or tenanted only by peaceful peoples.

The warlike Indians of the first-named area differ profoundly from the peaceful tribes in that they practised agriculture and made pottery, both of them crafts unknown among the peaceful peoples. Their chief food was maize. Since this plant is indigenous in Mexico or Honduras, it follows that the North-American Indians must have derived it, directly or indirectly, from this region. Moreover, the customs associated with its cultivation, the methods of cooking, for which pottery was always used, and the fact that during its cultivation the Indians lived, not in their usual tipis, but in rectangular houses such as are found in the south, all suggest that they have learned their agriculture from one ultimate common source, and that source must be in Mexico or Central America.

After the arrival of the Europeans several tribes adopted the use of the horse and went into the Plains west of the Mississippi, and there forgot their agriculture. It is said that those tribes possessed military organisations so similar in type that they must have been derived from one source. Since these Plains Indians have come from places east of the Mississippi, ranging from Illinois to Louisiana, it is therefore evident that the military organisations of the peoples inhabiting the regions whence they came, must likewise have had a common origin. Little is known of the military organisations of these peoples, but the really warlike peoples had hereditary military aristocracies, or else their chiefs were chosen from certain clans; and it is said that, if we knew their history, we should probably find that the

great Indian leaders were all members of these aristocratic warrior clans. Certain warlike tribes of the South possessed organisations similar to that of the Mexicans in that they were ruled over by hereditary military aristocracies; and the culture of the Iroquois, the most warlike of the northerly Indians, showed more signs of Mexican influence than that of any other people of the North, for they were the best agriculturists and pottery makers. So, putting these facts together it becomes probable that the North-American Indians derived their military organisations, directly or indirectly, from Mexico (19).

The most warlike people of America were the Aztecs, who, descending from some region in the north not yet identified, imposed themselves upon the Maya peoples of Mexico. Their wars were unique in America, and far surpassed in magnitude and ferocity those of the comparatively peaceful peoples still further north.

The great Empire of Peru, extending as it did from Quito to 30° South of the Equator, dominated the whole of South America. The Peruvians waged war to subjugate their neighbours and to extend their territory. They were ruled over by a military aristocracy. Since the origin of the empires of Mexico and Peru are not known, I shall include them among the Ancient Empires.

Other warlike peoples exist in South America. They may be divided into four groups: Caribs, Tupis, Awawak and Patagonians. None of these peoples have occupied their present habitat for long. The Caribs are said to have lived originally at the headwaters of the Xingu, and the Paranatinga, a right tributary of the Amazon; the Tupis originally came from the country round the northern affluents of the La Plata; the Arawak spread from Eastern Bolivia, and the Patagonians probably formerly lived in Matto Grosso. So combining these facts, it is seen that these peoples originated from eastern Bolivia and the region of Brazil called Matto Grosso (20).

Finally, I will call your attention to Europe. Three main groups of warlike peoples have contributed to its warrior aristocracies. The first consists of the peoples termed Celtic. One of the centres whence these people probably spread is in north-western Bohemia and south-eastern Saxony, in the neighbourhood of the Erz- and Fichtelgebirge (21). Then there are Asiatic peoples, such as the Huns, Turks, Magyars, of diverse race, but all originating from the region round Lake Baikal. Finally, there is the important group of Teutonic



SKETCH-MAP NO. 6, SHOWING THE AREA WHENCE THE CARIB,
TUPI, ARAWAK AND PATAGONIANS HAVE EMERGED

peoples, the members of which have originated from what may be termed the Scandinavian area ; Goths, Vandals, Normans, Saxons, Danes, Lombards, Burgundians, Russ and others, who spread thence after the fall of the Roman Empire to dominate for many centuries vast regions, profoundly influencing thereby the development of civilisation in Europe (22).

So far as is revealed by this survey, the warlike peoples whose origins are known have certain features in common. In Africa the rulers of the warlike negro tribes are of a light-skinned stock which has emerged from the centres denoted on the map ; in India the Aryans differed profoundly in race from the indigenous peoples whom they subjected ; the castes which originated from the fusion are distinguished by physical characteristics as well as by occupation, for the members of the higher castes are light-skinned and taller in stature than the dark-skinned lower castes (23). In central Asia peoples of Iranian stock have been dominated by conquering dynasties of Mongolian origin (24) : among the Mongolian peoples the dynasties in the various countries are, so far as is known, of alien origin ; those of China have always come from Mongolia or Manchuria, those of Indo-China from Yunnan, and so forth. In Europe the Turks and Magyars are examples of warrior aristocracies who have subjugated peoples of entirely different races. And after the fall of the Roman Empire the Teutonic conquerors who swarmed over Europe ruled over Latin and Slavonic races, as well as over stocks kindred to themselves. It follows that warlike states are not, in those cases where precise information is available, the result of a process of growth, or of natural selection, but of superposition. Their aristocracies are not, as might be expected, composed of families which have proved their superiority over the rest of the community, but are the descendants of warlike strangers who have imposed themselves upon peoples who, in several cases, are known to have been of peaceful habits.

This survey has further shown that these warlike aristocracies have originated from certain regions, which are indicated on Sketch-Map No. 8. Moreover, the movements of these warrior aristocracies have taken place in historical times : that of the Bantu within the past thousand years or so ; that of the Fulah a century or so ago ; those of the Teutonic peoples at dates subsequent to the fall of

the Roman Empire ; those of the Magyars and Turks into Europe at certain times within our era ; that from Yunnan within the past two thousand years ; and those from Manchuria and Mongolia at periods subsequent to the beginnings of precise historical records in China (25).

A broad survey of the problem has thus revealed the existence of three groups of peoples. There are the great empires of antiquity, warlike and ruled over by military aristocracies, the precise origins of which are not known. There are also warlike states whose origins in time and place are approximately established. These ruled over by military aristocracies which have emerged from certain centres have in some cases, to our certain knowledge, occupied lands hitherto tenanted by peaceful peoples—the third group—who have been forced thereby from their immemorial hunting grounds to occupy the outlying parts of the earth.

Sketch-Map No. 8 shows the relative distribution of these three groups, a distribution which is similar both in the land mass of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and in the continent of America. Although our knowledge of the origins of peoples is fragmentary, yet when shown in the form of a map it reveals an extraordinary degree of uniformity. The central regions have been the sites of Ancient Empires of the past : then, on the boundaries of these empires, are the centres whence the historical migrations of warlike peoples have set out : finally, on the outskirts there are peaceful peoples.

The survey of the warlike peoples showed that their aristocracies have emerged from the frontier kingdoms of the Ancient Empires to found warlike states further afield. Since the origin centres are adjacent in space to, and of later origin than, the Ancient Empires, it would seem from a consideration of the map that they have been formed from the Ancient Empires in exactly the same way as other warlike states further afield have originated from them. There is conclusive evidence that this is so. Speke, in his "Journal of Discovery of the Source of the Nile," says that the pastoral military aristocracies of the Bantu races probably arose as follows : "It may be presumed," he says, "that there once existed a foreign but compact government in Abyssinia, which becoming great and powerful, sent out armies on all sides of it, especially to the south, south-east and west, slave-hunting and devastating wherever they went, and in process of time be-



SKETCH-MAP No. 7, SHOWING THE CENTRES OF ORIGIN OF TEUTONIC AND
CELTIC MILITARY ARISTOCRACIES IN EUROPE

coming too great for one ruler to control. Junior members of the royal family then, pushing their fortunes, dismembered themselves from the parent stock, created separate governments, and, for reasons which cannot be traced, changed their names" (26). This view has gained common acceptance as the explanation of the origin of the Bantu military aristocracies. The foreign government in Abyssinia had close relationships with the ruling dynasties of Egypt, for the King of Abyssinia, when he went to Egypt, officiated as high priest in the temple of the sun—and therefore of the Pharaohs—at Heliopolis. The Bantu aristocracies are consequently, in a sense, ultimately of Egyptian origin (27). Sir H. Johnston indeed claims that many of them are obviously Egyptian in type, although they are entirely ignorant of the existence of such a country (28).

In the case of the regions adjoining China a precisely similar explanation is given by Professor E. H. Parker. He says that: "In nearly every case the Chinese trace the political beginnings of their frontier kingdoms to some Chinese exile or adventurer who, accommodating himself to local circumstances . . . succeeded in welding a series of homogeneous tribes into a nation. It is quite certain that this was later the case in Corea, Foochow, Canton, Yunnan, Kansuh, and Formosa, and this being so, there seems no good reason for rejecting the traditions that the same thing took place with the nomadic races of Tibet, Manchuria, and Mongolia." He says further that, "The Huns have a tradition that about B.C. 1200 a royal personage, who had most probably been misconducting himself, fled to the nomads of the north and founded among them a sort of dynasty (29)." The kingdoms founded by the Aryan conquerors of India in the East Indian Archipelago were ruled over by members of the warrior caste, and from these kingdoms have gone out younger members of royal houses, to intermarry with the indigenous peoples and to found warlike dynasties among the less civilised peoples of that region. In that way there has been produced a network of chiefs and ruling houses all ultimately descended from the warriors who entered the Panjab at the dawn of history (30).

In North America the rulers of the Natchez of Louisiana were aliens speaking a language different from that of their subjects, who claimed to have come from a place which, so far as can be told, was Mexico (31). There is thus at least one direct connecting link be-

tween the warrior aristocracies of Mexico and those of the North American Indians.

Although there is no direct testimony with regard to certain of the other regions, there is an immense mass of indirect evidence, to be submitted in due course to students of ethnology and comparative religion, which shows that the ruling families of the warlike frontier kingdoms are intimately connected with the dynasties of the Ancient Empires.

The evidence just quoted shows that the historical process here concerned has been one of expansion. The military aristocracies of the Ancient Empires, spreading out into regions beyond, have founded new states which in their turn have propagated others. The circumstances of this expansion present a problem of great importance. The boundaries between warlike peoples and the peaceful hunting tribes mark what is apparently the limit reached by the outward movement of migrant warriors. The profound cultural distinctions between the warlike peoples with social classes on one side of the boundary, and the peaceful democratic hunters on the other side, as exemplified, for instance, in North America, cannot, in the absence of intermediate stages of culture, be explained except on the hypothesis of a cultural movement which has stopped short at these borderlands.

The conditions of this movement must now be examined. The earlier part of the lecture has been devoted to the consideration of the belt between the region of the Ancient Empires and those of the peaceful hunters. The warlike peoples of this region whose origins are known with any definiteness are ruled over by aristocracies which have originated from certain centres situated near the boundaries of the Ancient Empires. It is now necessary to inquire into the condition of affairs in this vast region before the spread of the warrior aristocracies. Was this area in the days before the founding of the frontier kingdoms which have spread so widely in various directions occupied solely by peaceful tribes, or have the warlike peoples exterminated or subjected pre-existing warlike tribes?

One remarkable feature of the origin centres must particularly be noted. None of them are inside the boundary of the Ancient Empires which gave them birth. (The apparent exception of the Panjab is due to the fact that I have drawn the boundary in this region as it was at a date far subsequent to that of the first settlement of the



SKETCH-MAP No. 8, SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ANCIENT EMPIRES, THE ORIGIN CENTRES, AND THE AREAS OCCUPIED BY PEACEFUL HUNTING PEOPLES

Aryan warrior aristocracy in this region.) The royal founders of these frontier kingdoms evidently could not establish domains of their own inside their ancestral empires, but had to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

It is also to be noted that, while in the region of the Ancient Empires the origins of states are obscure and uncertain, directly the boundary line is crossed comparative certainty obtains. For example, no one can yet demonstrate exactly whence came the Aryan invaders of the Panjab, but it is well known that their descendants founded kingdoms in other parts of India and in Java. The origin of the Chinese Empire is obscure, but, as has been seen, we have certain knowledge of the foundation of such kingdoms as Corea.

How is this profound contrast between the two regions to be explained ?

It is well known that the region of the Ancient Empires was, while these states flourished, the scene of countless wars and campaigns, in the course of which the destruction of life and property was simply tremendous. Whole nations were annihilated, transported, or incorporated among the subjects of their conquerors. Consequently the histories of peoples such as the Hittites are practically lost, and can only partially be reconstructed from scattered fragments of evidence or from stray references in the literature of contemporaneous nations. Who can tell the beginnings of the Hebrews, the Medes, the Babylonians and many other peoples ? And what other cause can be assigned for this widespread obscurity than the warlike nature of all these states which has led to their mutual destruction ?

Outside the boundary the conditions are vastly different. The origin centre of the Scandinavian peoples was directly contiguous to regions occupied by peaceful peoples. And in North America the area of warlike peoples at the time of Columbus was adjacent to that of peaceful hunting peoples. In Africa the Bantu aristocracies founded kingdoms among the peaceful agricultural negroes of the region of the Great Lakes, and the expansion of the Bantu group gradually forced the peaceful Bushmen and Negritos out of their former hunting grounds. The conditions in Siberia are such as to warrant the belief that the origin centres round Lake Baikal were established in regions occupied by peaceful peoples. Indeed in the country round the headwaters of the Yenisei remnants of this early

population are still to be found (32). The gradual occupation of India by warlike Dravidian and Aryan peoples can be assumed with confidence. And the existence in the East Indian Archipelago of peaceful representatives of the earliest stocks which are known to have inhabited that region is conclusive evidence concerning the former condition in that region (33).

Some cases are doubtful. Such is that of South America, of which so little is known outside Peru. The Tibeto-Burman conquerors from Yunnan found in Indo-China a civilisation of Indian origin (34). It is therefore difficult to say from the consideration of this region alone whether its earliest inhabitants were peaceful. It must be remembered, however, that the wave of Indian culture which engulfed Indo-China also swept over the Archipelago, introducing warfare among many peoples of that region, but leaving certain remnants of the original peaceful inhabitants stranded high and dry above its high-water mark. So, in view of the close relationship which the peoples of Indo-China bear to those of the East Indian Archipelago, on the one hand, and to the Chinese on the other, they can be credited with the general peaceful disposition of these two last-named branches of the Mongolian stock. In this case there is a direct analogy with the Ancient Empires, for the displacement of one ruling caste by another has obscured the manner of origin of the earlier states.

I do not propose to discuss the problem of the Pacific, and shall content myself with remarking that warfare is everywhere associated with a military aristocracy of immigrant origin, so that there is no reason to believe that the conditions have been different from those obtaining elsewhere (35).

The general trend of the evidence, therefore, makes it highly probable that the frontier kingdoms were first founded among peaceful peoples, and that the initial outward expansion thence of military aristocracies was always into regions occupied by unwarlike tribes, part of whom were subjugated by them, and part of whom retreated before them until they occupied the regions indicated on the map. Such a mode of expansion is entirely consonant with the known facts. It accounts for the position of the centres, for the royal wanderers would have no difficulty in founding kingdoms in such circumstances. And it affords an explanation of the comparative

precision of the knowledge which we have of the origin of military aristocracies in the region outside the Ancient Empires. It must be remembered, too, that the existing remnants of the earliest stocks which are known to have inhabited these regions are invariably peaceful when untouched by higher cultural influences.

So, in whatever way the matter be regarded, the conclusion reached is that the dynastic expansion proceeded uniformly outward among peaceful peoples until certain limits were reached. The subtraction of the origin centres thus brings the borderland of peaceful peoples right up to the boundary of the Ancient Empires.

If the process of reversing history be continued, it follows that, if historical continuity be assumed, the states which gave rise to the frontier kingdoms must in their turn originally have been frontier kingdoms of pre-existing empires. The area of the Ancient Empires would therefore, as still earlier times were reached, contract, and that of the original peaceful peoples would expand. Finally, if this process be persisted in, there would remain a nucleus of one or more states to contest the priority of aristocratic government and warfare, and the rest of the world would be tenanted by peaceful peoples.

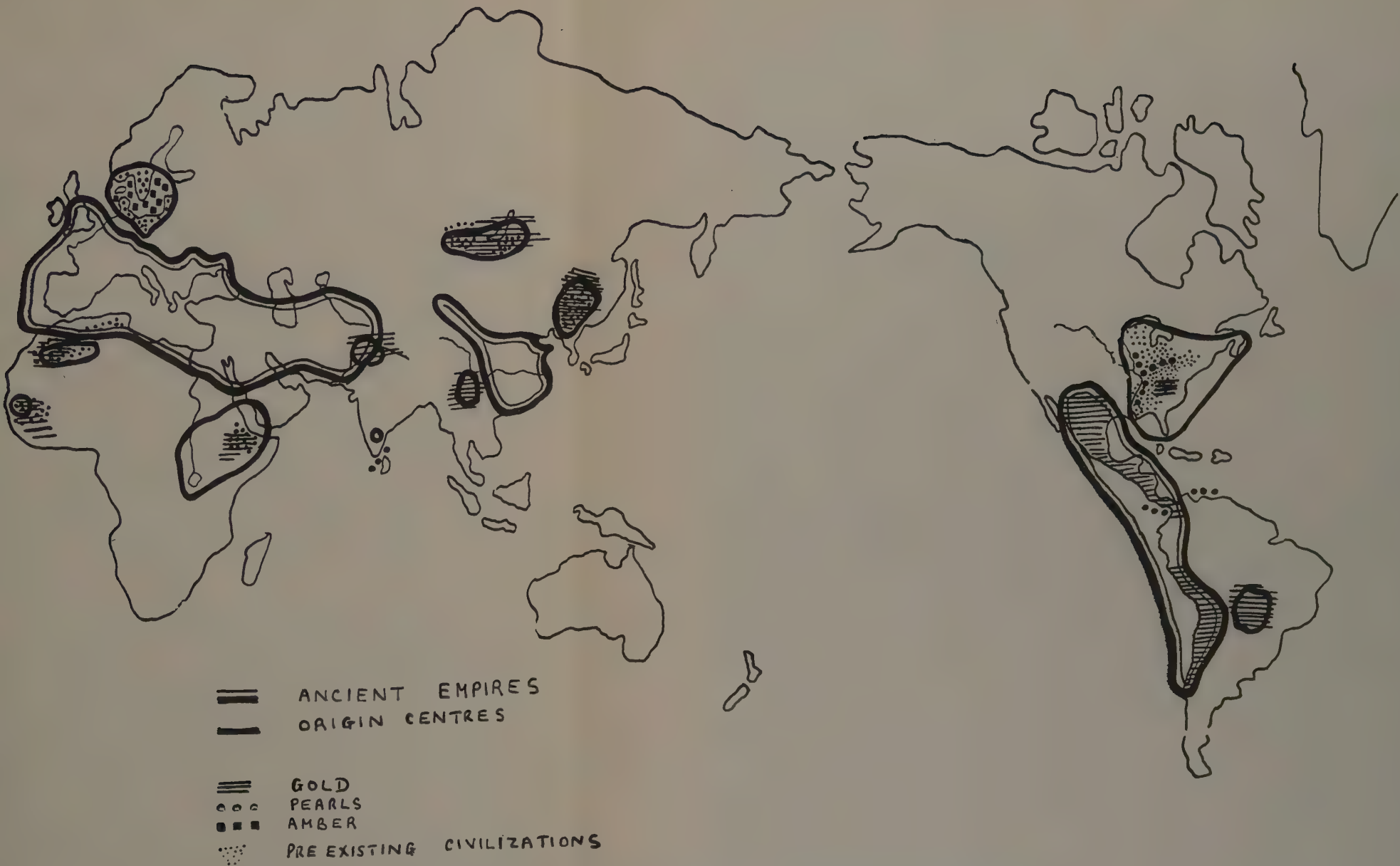
The examination of the manner of growth of warlike peoples has thus led to a conclusion entirely consonant with that already formulated as the result of the consideration of the earliest known forms of human culture. In both cases the evidence unhesitatingly points to a former time when men were entirely peaceful. The investigation just ended has shown that the ultimate problem is to discover the manner of origin of the aristocracies of the primordial warlike state or states.

If the introduction of warfare into all parts of the earth be due to a dynastic expansion which has its focus in one or more original states, it follows that all the dynasties of the earth would really be descended ultimately from one or more parent stocks, though intermarriage with men and women of all races would produce physical diversity. In spite of ramifications there will persist links of kinship connecting the dynasties of the different stages of the expansion. This is a matter which, although of crucial importance, must be left on one side. But all over the earth the ruling classes are exclusively associated with so many similar customs and beliefs that the assumption that they are all related is open to far less objections than any other. A continuity of that sort affords an entirely satisfactory explanation of the known facts.

The prominent part played by warfare and by aristocracies since historical records have been made has necessarily attracted the attention of students to the comparative exclusion of other less obtrusive features of the growth of civilisation, so that aristocratic institutions and warfare have come to be looked upon as the necessary concomitants of progress. That this is false will be apparent later.

One feature of the distribution of the origin centres must now be explained. They are few in number and are scattered in an apparently haphazard manner along the boundary. This apparent capriciousness is the result of a definite cause, which is revealed by Sketch-Map No. 9. The shading shows the gold-fields situated near the boundary. The small squares mark the area in the Baltic where amber is found, and the small circles denote pearl fisheries (36). The migration centres are therefore situated on gold-fields or in places where there existed pearls and amber, both of them highly prized and much sought after in antiquity. The founders of the military aristocracies, therefore, had a reason for settling in such places that will appeal to each one of us. They evidently appreciated the same forms of wealth as ourselves, and the extent of their appreciation is manifest.

It must not be imagined that the founders of these warlike states were pioneers of civilisation who set out on a journey of discovery and settled with a few followers in places where they found gold and other treasures. In the Yenisei region, in Mongolia and perhaps in Manchuria, in the Sudan and Northern Africa, in the Scandinavian region and Bohemia, there is the clearest evidence that the gold and amber of these regions were being exploited long before the arrival of any warrior aristocracies (37). In some cases the extent of the workings show that many centuries must have passed before the arrival of aristocratic strangers. The expansion of the Bantus was not into a region tenanted only by Bushmen, for it has already been said that a peaceful agricultural people had preceded them. In North America there are many signs of the presence of a population prior to the warlike Indians who lived there at the time of Columbus. These people built mounds which are strangely like those of Mexico. These mounds are grouped near streams, occurring but rarely in the open country, according to the map of Cyrus Thomas. They contain many pearls and are mainly concentrated in the valleys of the



SKETCH-MAP NO. 9, SHOWING THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE LED TO THE EXPANSION OF MILITARY ARISTOCRACIES

Mississippi and Ohio, and on the gold-field of West Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. Their northernmost extension coincides with the distribution of old copper mines in Michigan and round Lake Superior. In short their distribution is precisely that which would be expected if their makers had wandered northwards from Mexico seeking pearls, gold, copper, and other things. Their gold-work is very similar to that made in Mexico (38).

The presence of gold and other forms of wealth in certain places just outside their boundaries seems to have attracted the peoples of the Ancient Empires. This point does not need labouring, for once gold is accepted as a standard of wealth, our modern experience tells us that such an expansion is inevitable. Gold rushes are not an exclusive feature of the last few centuries, for the men of a few thousand years ago were endowed with the same fatal greed for wealth that many of us possess. Once gold is accepted as a standard of value, nothing can prevent a world-wide movement in search of it.

The existence of earlier inhabitants in such regions suggests that the settlement of royal strangers from the Ancient Empires has not been influenced simply by the presence of gold and other forms of wealth. They appear to have sought not merely the wealth itself, but, what is much more important, a wealth-producing population which could be dominated and made to support them and supply them with what they desired. The dynasties in such places, in addition to controlling those who work the mines, always control the gold mines.

The further movements of these military aristocracies show that the desire for domination over other people is the great factor determining their movements. In Africa the warlike Bantus have moved on southwards, and were still subjugating the peaceful agricultural peoples that they had pushed in front of them when the Europeans arrived on the scene and caused the tide to reverse its direction. The Tibeto-Burman conquerors from Yunnan have moved southwards to dominate the peoples of the settled wealthy and fertile regions of Indo-China: the Aryan conquerors have spread over much of India and even into the East Indian Archipelago, to dominate the populations; the Fulahs have spread out to dominate the peaceful Hausas. The steppes of Russia and the mountains of Norway have had no attraction for the military aristocracies from the Scandinavian region, who overrun those

parts of Europe which were occupied by wealthy settled populations. And the warrior aristocracies of the Turks, Mongols, and Manchus did not conquer the icy wastes where there was much gold, but no one working it, but left them to the hunters and turned south to dominate the settled gold-producing agricultural populations of Central Asia.

The localisation of the empires of Mexico and Peru on the sites of the richest gold and silver mines of that continent, and contiguous to the most important pearl fisheries, suggests that they were founded by peoples who appreciated these forms of wealth. This at once opens up the question of outside influence in America, which cannot be considered here.

This all shows that where there is wealth, and a population to produce it, military adventurers will sooner or later arrive, bent on securing for themselves ease and luxury, and using their docile subjects as the means whereby to gain their ends. If the wealth be very great, the competition will be correspondingly keen, and war will succeed war until some ruling house is triumphant, or the rival dynasties so emasculate one another that they bring ruin and desolation upon the region for the possession of which they are struggling, and thus defeat their own ends. Thus it is apparent why so many military adventurers have struggled for the wealth of Bactria, which region they have in the end nearly depopulated, bringing ruin on themselves in the process.

Warfare thus appears to owe its origin to migrant military aristocracies. These have settled in places where there is an established population producing tangible and desired forms of wealth, and live the lives of social parasites. They force their subjects to feed, clothe, house, and amuse them, and to form armies to aid them in their quarrels with their rivals or in their plundering expeditions to secure the wealth of and to dominate surrounding peoples. Their subjects are looked upon by them as mere ciphers, creatures who do their will and serve their pleasure without questioning, passing, as the fortunes of war decide, from one ruler to another. The essence of warfare thus appears to lie in the fact that peoples will usually submit to such treatment without resistance. In short it can be said that : *Warfare is the means whereby the members of a parasitic ruling class of alien origin endeavour, while exploiting their own subjects, to*

dominate those surrounding peoples who produce wealth in a tangible and desired form.

This process of exploitation and domination of the many by the few will last until the common people of the earth recognise their condition and become aware of their power. The spread of education has caused the masses in every civilised country to develop a class consciousness which is destined eventually to produce the greatest revolution in the world's history. The day when the peoples of Europe say to their rulers and dominant classes, "We will no longer work to maintain you : we care not one jot for your quarrels and refuse to be parties to them ; we will not be your instruments to enable you to plunder our neighbours," will see the end of war. The very patience with which the peoples of this earth have submitted to domination, and their resignation under the most unjust and cruel treatment, constitute powerful evidence of the innate peacefulness of mankind. And now that the democracies of civilised countries are uniting and voicing their sentiments, who can deny that they are on the side of peace, that they alone proclaim the brotherhood of man and the solidarity of interest which unites all branches of the human family ?

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(19) Clark Wissler, "Material Cultures of the North American Indians," *American Anthropologist*, N.S., xvi, 1914, pp. 449 *et seq.*; J. Mooney, Article on "Military Organisation" in the "Handbook of American Indians"; Cyrus Thomas, Article on "Maize" in the same work.

(20) Haddon, pp. 105 *et seq.*

(21) Siret, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 *et seq.*, quoting Buchtela "Vorgeschichte Bohmens". (It is unfortunate that the British Museum does not possess a copy of this important work.)

(22) Haddon, pp. 41 *et seq.*, and European map.

(23) E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 350 *et seq.*

(24) See the works of Ratzel, Ujfalvy, and others who treat of Central Asia.

(25) Johnston, "Survey of the Ethnography of Africa," *loc. cit.*, 391 *et seq.* Haddon, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 59.

(26) Speke, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

(27) Oldham, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

(28) Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

(29) E. H. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

(30) The Indian origin of the earliest civilisations of Java, Sumatra, and elsewhere in the East Indian Archipelago is well known. (See G. A. Wilken, "Handleiding voor de Vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie," 1898, for an account of the spread of Indian dynasties; and D. W. Horst, "De Rum-Serams op Nieuw-Guinea," 1893, for evidence concerning the influence of Indian religions upon those of the peoples of the East Indian Archipelago. See also W. J. Perry, "The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia," 1918, for the evidence concerning the immigrant origin of the ruling classes of the less advanced people of that region.) I hope to discuss the whole question of Indian influence in this region at some time in the future.

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(34) *See*, for example, Ch. Lemire, "Les anciens monuments des Kiams en Annam et au Tonkin," *L'Anthropologie*, iii., 1892, p. 135.

(35) *See* Perry, "An Ethnological Study of Warfare," *Manchester Memoirs*, vol. lxi., 1917, pp. 6-7.

(36) This map is compiled mainly from the information given by A. G. Lock, "Gold"; J. Calvert, "Gold Rocks of Great Britain and Ireland," 1853; and, especially, the "Oxford Economic Atlas," by Bartholomew and Lyde.

(37) *See* H. H. Johnston, "The Opening-up of Africa and A Survey of the Ethnography of Africa"; J. L. Todd and G. B. Wolback, "Stone Circles in the Gambia," *Man*, 1911, 96; W. Borlase, "The Dolmens of Ireland," pp. 713, 716, 718, 719; Gsell, "Hist. Anc. de L'Afrique du Nord," pp. 164, 215, 287, 303, 357; Playfair, "Travels," pp. 32, 34, 38, 39, 42, 44, 82, 92; D. Carruthers, *op. cit.*, p. 60; H. Leder, *Mitt. Anth. Ges.*, Wien, xxv., 1895, pp. 9 *et seq.*; *Mitt. Geogr. Ges.*, Wien, 1895, pp. 88 *et seq.*; W. Radloff, "Aus Sibirien," ii., 68 *et seq.*, 91 *et seq.*; C. de Sabir, "Le Fleuve Amour," 1861, pp. 155, 157; P. McD. Collins, "Voyage down the Amur," 1866, pp. 126, 186, 293; Desplanges, *L'Anthropologie*, xvii., 1906, pp. 532 *et seq.*; E. F. Gautier, *ibid.*, xviii., 1917, pp. 37 *et seq.*; J. J. A. Worsae, "The Pre-History of the North," 1886; L. Siret, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 *et seq.*

(38) *12th Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology*, Plate XX; W. H. Holmes, "Handbook of American Indians," i., p. 848.

A PURITAN IDYLL, OR, THE REV. RICHARD BAXTER'S LOVE STORY.¹

BY FREDERICK J. POWICKE, M.A., Ph.D.

THE story I am going to tell will not be found in Baxter's Autobiography called "*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*"; nor in Calamy's abridgment of that amorphous folio; nor in any of Baxter's contemporaries; nor at all fully in Orme, his modern biographer. We may assume, then, that the story is not a familiar one. Most people are aware that Baxter was a great and vivid figure in the greatest of all English centuries, the seventeenth. They know the titles of one or two of his books, such as "*The Saints' Everlasting Rest*" and "*The Call to the Unconverted*"; and, perhaps, that he was the most voluminous writer of his age. They have heard, too, of his extraordinary success as a parish minister in Kidderminster, and of his immense popularity as a Puritan preacher. And they have seen, no doubt, what is called his true portrait (*vera effigies*)—with its lean cheeks, its high Roman nose, its firm thin lips, its full ample brow partly concealed by a close-fitting velvet skull-cap from which the hair hangs down upon his ministerial white band and black silk robe. But it may be news to them that the owner of that grave and severe face² married at the age of forty-seven a lady, Margaret Charlton, twenty-five years younger than himself; and that, after a

¹ An elaboration of the Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on March 14, 1917.

² There is another portrait—similar in outline but evidently taken at an earlier date—now in possession of Mr. John W. Standerwick, of Ilminster. It was painted for his ancestor Wm. Standerwick by an unknown artist; and is milder as well as younger in expression. Baxter's friend and biographer Matt. Sylvester supplements the portrait when he says: "His Person was tall and slender, and stooped much; His Countenance composed and grave, somewhat inclining to smile, and, he had a piercing eye"—Funeral Sermon, p. 16 (at end of R.B.).

wedded life of nearly nineteen years, he survived her for ten years—her age at death being forty-two and his seventy-seven.

But such is the fact ; and the story forms a human document of no small interest. Mrs. Baxter died on June 14th, 1681 ; and within the next six weeks her husband showed what it is to have the pen of a ready writer. For during that time he wrote *four* biographies, not very brief, though he calls them 'Breviates'.

The first was one of his wife ; the second was one of his step-mother ;¹ the third, one of his old friend and housekeeper ;² and the fourth, one of Mrs. Baxter's mother—who had been dead twenty years. Acting on the advice of friends he cast them all aside except his wife's ; and this alas ! he greatly curtailed. He speaks of his friends as wise, and perhaps in general they were ; but one is sorry he listened to them in this particular case. For what he left out included "the occasions and inducements of" his marriage—or just its most piquant passages. One would give up much of the rest to recover these ; and I had hopes of recovering them from the Baxter MSS. in Dr. Williams's Library. But neither there nor among those of the British Museum has been found any trace of them. We are obliged, therefore, to make the best of the narrative as it stands.

Baxter tells us that he wrote the memorial to his wife "under the power of melting grief". He was a great, or, to say the least, an erudite Theologian. His study of theological questions was incessant. There might seem to be no room in his mind or heart for anything else. But after all he was no 'dry-as-dust'. However arid and abstract the terms or topics of his theology they did not lessen his humanity. He remained always what he was naturally, 'a man of feeling'. His popular appeal as a preacher—an appeal of such wonderful attractiveness to all classes of hearers—was due far less to the intellectual than to the emotional elements of his sermons. In the

¹ A daughter of Sir Thomas Hunks. She died 'the same year' as his wife—aged ninety-six or ninety-seven ; and so the statement in N.D.B. (sub. R. Baxter) that she long survived her stepson is incorrect. "She was"—says Baxter—"one of the most humble, mortified, holy persons that ever I knew." Baxter's own mother was an Adeney.

² Jane Matthews—died about a month or six weeks before Mrs. Baxter, aged seventy-six or seventy-seven, of "mere decay". A "pious, humble virgin of eminent worth". She must have attended him from Kidderminster.

pulpit passion, though usually under firm restraint, vibrated through every sentence. "When he spoke of Weighty Soul-Concerns you might find his very Spirit Drench'd therein"—says his editor and colleague Sylvester.¹ And he defends the exercise of passion.

"Reason is a sleepy half-useless thing till some passion excite it; and learning to a man asleep is no better for that time than ignorance. . . . I confess, when God awakeneth in me those passions which I account rational and holy, I am so far from condemning them, that I think I was half a fool before, and have small comfort in sleepy reason. Lay by all the passionate parts of love and joy, and it will be hard to have any pleasant thoughts of Heaven."² We must bear this in mind if we are inclined to wonder how a face like that of Baxter's traditional portrait could be the face of an ardent lover. There is no need to wonder. The traditional portrait is a mask. The real man was the most sensitive of personalities. I cannot say whether he had any 'heart-affairs' in his youth. He makes no reference to any, and he soon passed into a state of mind which would pronounce judgment upon them as a sin in his case. But I should not be surprised to learn that he had. At any rate, it is certain that he loved Margaret Charlton. He may not have done so at once; and there is clear evidence that he did not yield to the sweet attraction without a struggle. The point is, however, that he yielded; and that his love took possession of him, and swept away all the obstacles erected

¹ "Elijah's cry after Elijah's God," p. 14 (at end of the "Reliquiæ Baxterianæ"). "He had a moving *παθος* and useful Acrimony in his words, neither did his Expressions want their Emphatical Accent, as the Matter did require."

At the same time there was no 'gush'. He was "a Man of clear, deep, fixed thoughts; a Man of copious and well-digested Reading". "Rational Learning he most valued and was an extraordinary Master of" (*id.*, p. 17).

² "Poetical Fragments"—Epistle to the Reader. Of these 'Fragments'—dated "London, at the door of Eternity, August 7th, 1681," he says: "As they were mostly written in various passions, so passion hath now thrust them out into the world. God having taken away the dear companion of the last nineteen years of my life, as her sorrows and sufferings long ago gave being to some of these Poems (for reasons which the world is not concerned to know) so my grief for her removal, and the revived sense of former things, have prevailed with me to be passionate in the open sight of all." In the original title they are described as "The concordant discord of a broken-healed heart".

by his scrupulous conscience, and brought him into the happiest period of his life, notwithstanding the fact that outwardly it was the most troubled.

He met her first as a girl of seventeen or eighteen at Kidderminster. This was in 1637 or 8 when his great ministry was at its height. She had come from Oxford—the residence at that time of her elder sister, wife of Mr. Ambrose Upton, a Canon of Christ Church.¹ Her mother had been living at Kidderminster for some time; and seems to have chosen it for her home on purpose to enjoy the benefit of Baxter's preaching at the Parish Church of St. Mary's.² She and Baxter belonged to the same county of Shropshire; but were of a different social rank—her family being "one of the chief Families in the County," while his was that of "a mean Freeholder (called a Gentleman for his Ancestors' sake, but of a small estate, though sufficient)".

Her husband, Francis Charlton, Esq., "did not marry till he was aged and gray, and so dyed while his children were very young". There were three of them—two daughters, of whom Margaret was the younger, and one son. His death took place in the opening years of the Civil War; and the reality of the war was brought home to the bereaved family in a strange way. Their home was "a sort of small castle" (B., p. 2) named "Apley, nr. Wellington"³ (B., p. 44); and was garrisoned for the King—not that Mrs. Charlton was a strong Royalist, but because she needed the King's protection against her husband's brother, Robert, who was bent upon getting the children, particularly the son and heir, into his own hands. To avert this she, in the first place, besought relief from the King at Oxford; and in the second, married one Mr. Hanmer,⁴ a Royalist and a man of influence. It may have been under his direction that Apley Castle was garrisoned; and so might be legally attacked by a Parliamentary

¹ B., p. 3.

² She lived in a "great house" near the Church—"in the Churchyard side"—within sight of "all the Burials" (B., pp. 44, 45).

³ "Within a mile of Wellington on the right of the road leading to Hodnet is Apley Castle eminent as the seat of the ancient family of the Charltons"—Halbert's "History of Salop," vol. ii., 156 (1837).

⁴ He appears to have died before the end of the war and nothing further is known of him.

force. This the uncle was strong enough to bring about. In Baxter's words "he procured it to be besieged by the Parliament's soldiers, and stormed and taken" (B., p. 2). A part of the house was burnt. Some of the men were killed. All the inmates were "threatened and stript of their cloathing, so that they were fain to borrow clothes"¹ (B., p. 44).

"So Robert got possession of the children" (B., p. 2). By dint of "great wisdom and diligence," however, they were at length snatched away from him "and secretly conveyed to one Mr. Bernards in Essex";² and, with the close of the war her troubles on that score came to an end. Then, as her son's guardian, she took charge of his estate; and "managed things faithfully, according to her best discretion, until her son marrying took the estate into his own hands". Why she did not continue to live with him or near him is not said. But there was something which rendered it undesirable³ and decided her to follow her inclination and make a home in Kidderminster.⁴ Here she lived (says Baxter) "as a blessing among the honest poor weavers—strangers to her—whose company for their piety she chose before all the vanities of the world".

When Margaret joined her—probably in 1658—she did so "for mere love of her mother".⁵

¹ Baxter mentions this experience as one of the nerve-shocks which afterwards rendered Margaret so 'fearful'.

² He appears to be the same as Sir John Bernards who afterwards boarded and educated Baxter's nephew, William Baxter (see Baxter Correspondence, Dr. Williams's Library).

³ Baxter hints at "passion in her," or some "fault in him" (B., p. 3).

⁴ First of all she desired Baxter "to take a House for her alone". He declined on the ground that he would do nothing to separate mother and son; and advised her to go back. "She went home, but shortly came again, and took a house without my knowledge." Baxter seems careful to note this fact because at a later time it was made a charge against him by her son that he had unduly influenced her. See a letter of his dated July, 1658, "to Mr. Charlton, Esq., at Appley in Shropshire," justifying himself and "Mr. Charlton's own mother against his hard speeches," Baxter MSS., vol. iv., ff. 130 *a*, *b*, 131 *b*, Williams's Library.

⁵ "She was the greatest honourer of her mother, and most sincerely loved her, that ever I knew a Child do to a Parent" (B., p. 81).

On the other hand, her mother "loved her least of her three children" before the time of her conversion. Then she "began to esteem her as her Darling" (B., p. 5).

Baxter himself did not interest her nor did she care for the people. Indeed she "had great aversion to" their "poverty and strictness," and put on a very unpuritan appearance of worldliness—"glittering herself in costly Apparel and delighting in her Romances". But this was only on the surface and did not last long. Already she was feeling a sort of divine discontent. She knew "she was not what she should be" and that "something better (she knew not what) must be attained".¹ Even while at Oxford the change had begun. A sermon "of Mr. H. Hickman's," which she heard there, had "much moved her". She had tried to throw off its influence; and her efforts to do so would account for the levity which rather shocked the Kidderminster saints. She was, in fact, 'kicking against the pricks'. And so it is not surprising that Baxter's preaching soon laid hold of her. His doctrine of conversion "was received on her heart as the seal on the wax". From being careless of religion (as it seemed) she became its most earnest devotee. She tested herself by all the marks of conversion set forth in Baxter's 'Treatise' on the subject and fell into a morbid state of mind because of her failure to stand the test. Some who chanced to overhear her praying in a remote room of her mother's house "said they never heard so fervent prayers from any person". Casting aside her romances she read none but serious books, and entertained none but serious thoughts, and "kept a death's head (or skull) in her closet" (B., p. 44) to remind her continually of her mortality. All this was quite according to the Puritan scheme, and "all her religious Friends and Neighbours" as well as her mother "were glad of so sudden and great a change". But the strain proved almost fatal to her—the more so as she was of what Baxter calls "a concealing temper" and said nothing. Her health broke down. She seemed to be wasting away. The doctors spoke of consumption and despaired of her life. Then an experiment was tried which to Baxter and his people was a most natural outcome of their faith. They "resolved to fast and pray for her". The result is best told in his own words: "Compassion made us all extraordinary fervent and God heard us, and speedily delivered her as it were by nothing, or by an altogether undesigned means. She drank of her own in-

¹ As a girl she had been put by her mother—for a time—under "an imprudent *rigid* Governess". Her levity was a reaction against this excessive restraint. The circumstance points to a Puritan home (B., p. 4).

clination, not being directed, a large quantity of syrup of Violets and the next morning her nose bled (which it scarce ever did before or since) and the Lungs seemed cleared, and her pulse suddenly amended, her cough abated, and her strength returned in short time" (B., p. 9).¹

She was at her worst on December 30th, 1659,² and this would be the date of the prayer meeting. Her recovery was sure but not rapid. There is no suggestion of miracle about it. It was not till April 10th that she seemed well enough to justify her mother in calling upon "those that had fasted and prayed for her to keep a day of Thanksgiving for her Deliverance".

Margaret wrote of the day—a Thursday—as one never to be forgotten. She sat late into the night recording her thoughts of it. She thoroughly agreed with the others that her recovery was due to a direct act of God and emphasized God's claim upon her. So, in Puritan fashion, she solemnly renewed her covenant with God—a covenant which Baxter, about the same time, rendered into verse. We sing a part of it in the well-known Hymn

Lord, it belongs not to my care
Whether I die or live,

though in the original the first line runs—"Now it belongs not to my care," while the line "to soar to endless day" is an unwarranted alteration for the line—"that shall have the same pay".³

¹ This, in Baxter's view, was one of many similar instances. His people had lately prayed for 'a Demoniack' who ("after some years' misery") was suddenly cured; and for a 'violent' Epileptic who recovered on the second day and "never had a fit since"; and often for himself "in dangerous illness" with "speedy" success. Once *e.g.* he had "swallowed a Gold bullet for a Medicine, and it lodged in me long, and no means would bring it away, till they met to fast and pray, and it came away that morning". "God"—he adds—"did not deny their prayers, though they were *without Book*, and such as some deride as extemporare." One rather wonders why Baxter was always so inveterate a dealer in medicine!

² She afterwards kept it "secretly as an anniversary Remembrance of the Sentence of Death from which she had been delivered" (B., Preface, p. i).

³ The whole Hymn consists of eight stanzas—of eight lines each—in common metre and was *meant* to be sung. She made her covenant in public. "This day I have, under my Hand and Seal in the presence of Witnesses, nay in Thine own presence . . . devoted my all to Thee.

On April 13th, 1660—three days later—Baxter went up to London¹—eager to watch and have a part in the measures then on foot to bring about the Restoration. Unknown to himself, or them, he had said goodbye to his beloved Kidderminster flock. On April 30th he preached before the new House of Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster.² On May 10th at their desire he preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in St. Paul's (*id.*, 219). On June 25th he was sworn the King's Chaplain in Ordinary (R.B., p. 229). On November 1st he refused an offer of the Bishopric of Hereford (R.B., pp. 282, 283). Later in the year he petitioned the Lord Chancellor "to restore" him "to preach to" his "people at Kidderminster again" (R.B., p. 298)—and his people supported him by gathering in a day's time the signatures of 1600 communicants out of a possible 1800.³

He was willing to go and do the work on the "lowest lawful terms" or even for nothing; but it was not to be. The story of the calculated deceits which were practised upon him in this connection does not belong here. All through the year 1661 and part of 1662 he exerted himself to the uttermost in the interest of a reconciling policy. His efforts (as is well known) and every other effort failed. Hence on May 25th, 1662, by which time the Uniformity Act was a certainty, he pointed the way to his fellow-Nonconformists by preaching his last sermon as a minister of the Anglican Church.⁴ He was far and away the most active spirit on the Nonconformist side; but the currents against him were too strong; and he was not,

. . ." (B., pp. 16, 17). (She was writing in her room 'at twelve of the clock' a.m.). Baxter says she "subscribed it with a cheerful will" and "never lost sight" of it—"Poetic Fragments," p. 70.

¹ If April 10th (as Margaret says) was Thursday, then the 13th would be Sunday. But this is Baxter's own date (R.B., p. 215) and was Monday. Margaret meant Friday. Probably . . . meant Friday (about the dawn of which she wrote in her diary).

² "The next morning" "did the Parliament unanimously vote Home the King" (R.B., Pt. ii., pp. 218, 219).

³ R.B., Pt. ii., p. 299. "The rest were such as were from home." The whole population of the Parish was about 4000 (R.B., Pt. ii., p. 286).

⁴ "At Blackfryars." He had preached here once a Sunday for some months and previously at St. Bride's and St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street. He also lectured for a year at Milk Street on week days, *i.e.* (probably) once a week (R.B., Pt. ii., pp. 302, 303).

if he had known it, the best of pilots. His very simplicity and sincerity betrayed him.

Meanwhile, where was Margaret Charlton? She also was in London and her mother with her. She had, in fact, followed him; and had taken the resolution to do so almost as soon as she heard of his going. Thus she writes on April 10th: "My pastor . . . is by Providence called away and going a long journey";¹ and about the same time, she adds: "I resolve, if Providence concur, to go to London as soon as I can after the day of Thanksgiving for the Reasons mentioned in another place".² What other place was meant, or what were the Reasons, even Baxter did not know. But he quotes a passage from her Diary of April 10th which more than hints at one of them: "It may grieve me now he is gone that there is so little that came from him left upon my soul. O let this quicken and stir me up to be more diligent in the use of all remaining helps and means. And if ever I should enjoy this mercy again, O let me make it appear that . . . I was sensible of my neglect of it."³

Here it is her need of Baxter as a teacher and guide that she feels—no doubt sincerely and acutely. But was this all? Was it *enough* to explain the mood of deep despondency which returned upon her after his departure?⁴ Above all, does it suffice to account for her precipitate resolve to follow him?

I think not.

There is a pathetic little sentence in the secret paper she wrote near midnight on April 10th which tells its own tale. She is trying to wing her soul toward Heaven alone and away from mundane desires. Why? Because *there* "shall friends meet and never part and remember their sad and weary nights and days no more. *Then may we love freely.*" Then may we love freely—does not this lift a corner of the veil and show what she hardly confessed even to herself, viz. that love for the "wise and good" pastor had grown into love for the man; and that she found it hard, nay at last impossible, to endure the prospect of living far away from him? *That* is my own impression; and I imagine that her mother, while listening and yielding to her other pleas for going to London, may have divined her secret and been glad. For of the mother's devotion to Baxter there can be no question.

¹ B., p. 19.

² *Ibid.* p. 29.

³ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 29, 30.

At any rate to London they came—notwithstanding Baxter's Remonstrance. "It is not lawful (he said) to speak an idle word . . . much less to go an idle journey. What if you fall sick by the way, or some weakness take you there, will not conscience ask you who called you hither?"¹ Did the good man also suspect the truth; and did he wish to ward off from himself what he feared might be a too fascinating temptation? Possibly; and when she actually appeared on the scene he may have addressed her again with the like pastoral gravity. But, in such cases nature has a way of her own which usually prevails. Margaret could not be in London—within easy distance—and no meeting take place. She knew where he preached, and (we may be sure) was as often as possible one of his hearers at St. Dunstan's or St. Bride's or Blackfriars; while he was not an infrequent guest at her mother's lodgings in Sweeting's Alley or Aldersgate Street (B., p. 76). Nor could the fact of their acquaintance be long hid, even if they tried to hide it. It went on through more than two years and was not interrupted by Mrs. Charlton's death in 1661. Rather this event—an unspeakably sad one for Margaret who was only twenty-one (B., p. 3)—was perhaps the chief means in bringing matters to a head. Baxter links together her mother's death and her consequent "friendless state" as contributory causes of a "diseased fearfulness" to which she became liable. How could he help doing his best to comfort her; and in doing so was it not more than likely that their mutual attachment should declare itself? Anyhow, the attachment did come to a head and was widely known by the end of 1661. Such a love story excited more interest in some circles than even the burning questions which were then convulsing the Church. It reached the Court in the form of a definite report that Baxter, the hypocritical impugner of all clerical marriages, was himself married; and what the refined entourage of Charles II made of it there is no need to say. The Bishop of Worcester, Morley, who hated Baxter, seems to have been the first to 'divulge' the report; and he did so "with all the odium he could possibly put upon it". Outside the Court it was "everywhere rung about"—"partly as a wonder and partly as a crime". "I think," says Baxter, "the King's marriage was scarce more talked of than mine;" and

¹B., p. 42. Baxter is not named, but there is little room for doubt that the remonstrance was his.

this "near a year before it came to pass".¹ There were plausible grounds for the widespread gossip, malicious and otherwise. There was, e.g. the disparity of age—suggestive of a merely amorous fancy on Baxter's part; there was the disparity of rank—suggestive of misused pastoral influence over a guileless girl; then there was her wealth—suggestive of covetousness; and especially there was his avowed and acknowledged disapproval of the married state for ministers—suggestive of hypocrisy. But the truth, known to the few, really made the story a romantic and beautiful idyll. For the simple truth was that they loved each other—with a love of that high spiritual character which unites soul to soul, and transfigures life, and is immortal. Hence, neither the scoffs of the frivolous nor the sneers of the malignant could have any weight with them; and in due course, when at last the way was clear, they were married. "On September 10th we were married"—says Baxter—"in Bennet Fink Church by Mr. Samuel Clark . . . having been before contracted by Mr. Simeon Ash, both in the presence of Mr. Henry Ashurst and Mrs. Ash;"² and, he goes on, "when we were married her sadness and melancholy vanished; counsel did something to it, and contentment something; and being taken up with our household affairs, did somewhat. And we lived in inviolated love and mutual complacency, sensible of the benefit of mutual help. These near nineteen years I know not that ever we had any breach in point of love, or point of interest, save only that she somewhat grudged that I had persuaded her for my quietness to surrender so much of her estate, to a disabling her from helping others so much as she earnestly desired."

The reference in these last words is to one of the conditions of their marriage which he had exacted, viz. that she should so alter her affairs as to prevent his being entangled in any law suits.

Her brother, in fact, appears to have made claims upon what she had inherited from her mother; and Baxter had induced her to concede them, although legally disputable. He would rather she suffered unjust loss—which evidently she did—than gratify the

¹ R.B., Pt. i., p. 384.

² "Good old Mr. Simeon Ash was buried the very Even of Bartholomew Day"—i.e. August 24th, so that the contract of marriage must have taken place before that date (R.B., Pt. ii., p. 430).

scandalmongers by a law suit. Her fortune as thus reduced was not by any means large. How much she had given up is not clear ; but the remnant, after crossing off bad debts, amounted to no more than £ 1650,¹ equal perhaps to £ 5000 at the present time. Her marriage left this entirely at her own disposal : for a second condition, insisted upon by Baxter, was that he should have nothing that before was hers, so that, as he says, " I (who wanted no outward supplies) might refute the charge of covetousness".² However she may have rebelled against this condition in after days, he held her to it. Of course he could not hinder her from using some of her money in house-keeping and had no wish to do so. But he would not handle any of her money himself nor inquire how she spent it. He let her do with it as she pleased ; and so, after she was gone, he could say : " Through God's mercy and her prudent care, I lived in plenty and so do still, though not without being greatly beholden to divers friends ; and I am not poorer than when I married : but it is not by marriage nor by anything that was hers before".³

Their first home was in Moorfields (B., p. 51), where they lived for ten months. Then on July 14th, 1663, they removed to Acton in Middlesex—for the sake of Baxter's health and studies and a quiet country life.⁴ Here they lived for nearly six years when " a new sharper law against" the Nonconformists—known as the Oxford or Five mile Act—forced them away.⁵ Towards the end of 1669, they took lodgings with a farmer at Totteridge near Barnet—ten miles from London, exchanging these for a separate house the next year. Their last 'remove' was back to London on February 20th, 1673, into what Baxter calls " a most pleasant and convenient House" at Southampton Square, Bloomsbury—⁶ " where she died". This marks the outline of their married life ; and its contents, from more than one point of view, are full of interest. But our concern just now is chiefly with Mrs. Baxter and the sort of woman she proved herself to be.

1. She turned out an excellent housewife. Probably she had been well trained by her mother. Anyhow " her household-affairs (says Baxter) she ordered with so great skill and decency as that others

¹ B., p. 48.

² *Ibid.* p. 47.

³ *Ibid.* p. 101.

⁴ R.B., p. 440.

⁵ For the circumstances which permitted Baxter for some years to escape the force of this Act, see R.B., Pt. iii., pp. 46 ff.

⁶ B., p. 51 ; R.B., Pt. iii., pp. 60, 103.

much praised that which I was no fit Judge of: I had been bred among plain mean people, and I thought that so much washing of Stairs and Rooms to keep them as clean as their Trenchers and Dishes, and so much ado about cleanliness and trifles, was a sinful curiosity, and expence of servants' time who might, that while, have been reading some good book. But she that had been otherwise bred had somewhat other thoughts" (B., p. 80). It will be noticed that she kept servants; and Baxter testifies that she was a lenient mistress. "When her servants did any fault unwillingly she scarce ever told them of it. When one lost Ten Pounds worth of Linnen in carriage carelessly, and another Ten Pounds worth of Plate by negligence she shewed no anger at any such thing. If servants had done amiss, and she could not prove it, or knew not which did it, she would never ask them herself, nor suffer others, lest it should tempt them to hide it by a lye (unless it were a servant that feared God, and would not lye)" (B., p. 74). Evidently the moral welfare of her servants was something for which she felt a responsibility. Baxter felt it, too; and his part was to catechize them weekly besides expounding the Scriptures at morning and evening prayers. But now and then, absorbed in his studies, he was apt to forget; and his wife never failed to remind him with an "expression" of "trouble" in her face at his "remissness" (B., p. 70). She kept him up to the mark, too, in other ways. Her ideal of a home required it to be bright. To this end, she encouraged conference and cheerful discourse. She did not like her husband to come from his study and sit at table and say little or nothing—not even if he seemed to have good reason in his "weak pained state of body". And this was good for him—there being no doubt that he was rather apt to dwell somewhat morbidly upon his ailments. It was no less good for him that she tried to curtail his hours of study; and to make him see that by spending more time in 'religious exercise' with her and his Family and his neighbours, he would be furthering his ministerial work just as much as by writing books. Indeed, she told him, that he "had done better to have written fewer books and to have done those few better". "Some others" thought the same, while *he* thought that writing was the chief of his duties and the study in very truth his 'sanctum sanctorum'.

All the same, there is no doubt that he sometimes yielded to her persuasion; and went back to his books none the worse for having

wasted (as he might fancy) some precious half hours in her drawing-room. In a word it is plain that his home-life, under her gentle reign, was as wholesome for him as it was delightful. If she was exacting in some ways, she was as exacting with herself as with him. Nay, if she seemed to make light of his physical sufferings, she also made light of her own—which were often no less acute. He found her utterly unselfish. She had, moreover, the best of tempers. If she was ever angry she “little made it known” (he says). She rarely ever *spoke* in anger or in an angry tone; nor could she well bear to hear *another* speak angrily or even loud. Best of all, experience proved them to be, what they hoped to be, as regards religion—its beliefs, its duties, its ideals and its hopes. Here, at the centre of their life, they were one; and here she remained to the end his grateful pupil—though to a greater extent his teacher than she was aware. Thus in the deepest things there was never a jarring note. One illustration may be quoted. They were both fond of singing Psalms to sacred music. And (says Baxter) “it was not the *least* comfort that I had in the converse of my late dear wife that our first in the morning and last in bed at night was a Psalm of Praise till the hearing of others interrupted it”.¹

A husband and wife who began and ended each day with a ‘Psalm of Praise’ sung so heartily as to evoke a protest from the neighbours need no further testimony to their mutual content!

2. Baxter dilates upon her charm outside as well as inside the home. “I know not (he says) that ever she came to any place where she did not extraordinarily win the love of the inhabitants (unless in any street where she staid so short a time as not to be known to them).” This he admits was due partly to her liberality. But “her carriage” (i.e. her behaviour) won more love than her liberality. She could not endure to hear one give another any sour, rough, or hasty word. “Her speech and countenance was always kind and civil whether she had anything to give or not.” She was the same to rich and poor; or, if she made a difference, more considerate of the poor than the rich. Among the poor were her chief friends. “And all her kindness tended to some better end than barely to relieve peoples bodily wants—even to oblige them to some duty that tended to the good of their souls or to deliver them from some straits which fill’d

¹ “Fragments of Poetry”—Address to Reader, p. 3.

them with hurtful care, and became a matter of temptation to them". Nor was there anything sectarian in her kindness. "If she could hire the poor to hear God's word from Conformist or Nonconformist, or to read good Serious practical Books, whether written by Conformists or Nonconformists, it answered her end and desire : and many an hundred books hath she given to those ends."¹ Baxter refers in particular to her influence over the people of Acton, among whom she lived and moved for six years. They all "greatly esteemed and loved her". Not a few of them were "accounted worldly ignorant persons"; but to please her they came to hear her husband preach in her house; and what he calls "her winning conversation" drew them to goodness even more than his powerful sermons. He gladly notes this when telling how on one occasion "the people hearing that" he "again wanted a house . . . they unanimously subscribed a request to" him "to return to" his "old house with *them* and offered to pay" his "house-rent". What moved them most, he says, was their love for her (B., pp. 50, 51).

3. Something has already been said as to her liberality. This played a great part in her life; and it was from Baxter that she learnt how to use her money. She had been in the habit of giving, he says, "but a tenth of her incomes to the poor; but I quickly convinced her that God must not be stinted, but as all was his so all must be used for him by his stewards, and of all we must give account; only in his appointed order we must use it which is—1, For our own natural necessities; 2, For public necessary good; 3, For the necessities of our children and such Relations as are part of our charge; 4, Then, for the godly poor; 5, Then for the common poor's necessities, and, 6, lastly, for conveniences, but nothing for unuseful things" (B., p. 53). This was his lesson; and she learnt it almost too well. In order to give away "she used mean clothing and a far meaner diet for her own person" than was consistent with her health, or (as some thought) with her rank. In fact, she gave away so much that there were times when she had nothing to give. Then she begged. She did not dream of begging for herself; but "she at length refused not to accept with thanks the liberality of others, and to live partly on charity that she might exercise charity to them that could not so easily get it

¹ B., pp. 49, 50. In this she was an imitator of her husband. See R.B., Pt. i., p. 89, § 14.

from others as we could".¹ Failing to get what she had need of by begging she had recourse to borrowing; and, as she could always offer "sufficient security" she found borrowing easy. But the net result was, that when her affairs were wound up at her death most of her property turned out to be mortgaged; and Baxter came off badly. This led to the accusation "that she was wasteful and imprudent in leaving" him "so much in debt".

To which he replied that there were no debts, since all obligations were covered by her securities. Nor was there any sense of grievance on his part that nothing was left for him, since that was what he desired. Nevertheless, we differed (he says) on two points. One was this—that he disliked her borrowing—"unless in some public or extraordinary case," whereas *she* thought "that, while she could give security, she *ought* to borrow to relieve the poor, especially the most worthy".² The other point was this—that while He was for "exercising prudence in discerning the degrees of need and worth," she held "that we ought to give more or less to everyone that asketh, if we have it".

Still she did discriminate in her own way. Thus she gave more readily to poor widows and orphans than to the poor generally. ("Alas! (says Baxter) I know many" of these who "think they have now lost a mother".) And she was specially compassionate of any worthy person "in Prison for debt". One of her last acts "a Fortnight or Month before she died" was to promise £20 for the release of one of these—hoping to beg the amount and having to pay all but £8 herself (B., p. 63). But the chief objects of her bounty were religious enterprises, and her poor kindred. As to the latter, her poor kindred were really Baxter's—³ "to many of" whom (says he) "she

¹ B., p. 60. There were "faithful pious friends" so "kind and liberal" in this respect that Baxter had "much ado to forbear naming them".

² B., p. 65. There is a sentence here which seems to imply that Baxter's means as well as his wife's went in charity. It is—"I thought I was to give but all my Income and not to borrow to give. . . ." But this must be read in the light of his own scheme (p. 53).

³ Except her sister Mrs. Upton and her brother, with their families she had no near relations of her own, so far as we know. "Her sister's children she loved as if they were her own, especially three daughters" (B., p. 64). Baxter mentions a strange story how she compelled him (first satisfying his reason) to be "a motioner of a Wife to her brother's son" who brought him £20,000. He mentions it to illustrate her wish, next to saving their souls, to settle her kindred well in the world!

was much more liberal than " himself—though " her way was not to maintain them in idleness ; but to take children and set them to some Trade, or help them out of some special straits ". The most notable of these was his nephew, William Baxter, afterwards well known as a Distinguished Classical scholar and antiquary. The letters between him and Mrs. Baxter which have been preserved in the Baxter Correspondence of Dr. Williams's Library show the unfailing interest she took in his career as long as she lived, and his grateful admiration.¹ As to religious work, her gifts were incessant. When, e.g. they came to live in Bloomsbury and she found herself surrounded by the " ignorant untaught poor " of St. James's Parish, she could not rest until she had " set up a school there to teach some poor children to read and the Catechism," free of charge. She engaged for the purpose " a poor honest man " (Mr. Bruce) " who had a wife and many children " and no other maintenance—paying him ' six pounds a year till her death ' mostly out of her own purse.² This surely was one of the first free schools of the kind established in London ; " and " (says Baxter) " she would fain have set up more, had she had the money ".³

¹ His posthumous works were published in 1726 in a book of the same title as his uncle's, viz. "*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*". He died in 1723—aged seventy-three. One of his included works contains a pedigree of the Baxter family which makes it very ancient and respectable. The name Baxter he derives from a Saxon word meaning 'Baker'. He himself was born at Lanlutan—vicus admodum obscurus—in a house belonging to his great-grandfather William—his father's name being John and his mother's Catherine. The family circumstances were poor (in tenui re).

He was married by the time of Mrs. Baxter's death ; and his eldest child was born in the same year, 1681. There were three others—two daughters and one son—all born in Tottenham High Cross, Middlesex, where he lived and kept a boarding house or school. Then (after 1700) he was for more than twenty years Master of Mercer's School, London. He ought to be an authority on the number of his own children. But Nicholls ("*Literary Anecdotes*," vol. i., 165) makes the number six ; and calls the eldest Rose instead of Richard.

He speaks of Baxter as " Richardus majoris patrii mei Richardi filius ".

² B., p. 58. " For this she beg'd a while of her good friends but they quickly gave over."

³ He pleads with 'charitable people' to extend the movement, for the sake of the multitude of poor children, " in the many great out-parishes of London," who " spend their time in idleness and play, and are never taught to read ". There " are many good poor women " who would be glad to do the work for " a small stipend " and results might be attained

But chapels, or rooms for preaching, were her main concern. When they came to London in February, 1673, there was no meeting house which Baxter could call his own. Most of the available places of worship had been taken up by ministers on the spot. He wished this; and had delayed his return expressly for this. "I thought it not just"—he says—"to come and set up a congregation there till the Ministers had fully settled theirs who had borne the burden there in the times of the raging Plague and Fire, and other Calamities—lest I should draw away any of their Auditors and hinder their Maintenance."¹

But his wife thought he held off from preaching too long. She was not content for him merely to deliver "a Friday Lecture at Mr. Turner's Church in New St. near Fetter Lane". Such a Lecture did not reach the *people* and it was the people she thought of. She wanted to see them flocking again to his preaching as they always did, so she contrived a little scheme. "She first fisht out of me (says Baxter) in what place I most desired more Preaching. I told her in St. Martin's Parish where are said to be 40,000 more than can come into the Church, especially among all the new Buildings at St. Jameses where Neighbours many live like *Americans* and have heard no Sermon of many years." She at once set to work, and, after more than one failure to find "some capacious Room," hired one over the marketplace consisting of "divers Rooms" "laid together" and upheld by one big central beam. Here he agreed to preach every Sunday morning—the afternoon service to be taken in turns "by the ablest Ministers they could procure in London". To 'supply' for these a Minister out of charge was brought up from some place "a hundred miles off" at a stipend of "£40 a year". And the point is that she paid this herself—besides most of what was required to hire and prepare the room, and "to pay a Clerk," and to engage "a woman to look to the Seats". The people indeed raised something by collections; but she detested collections for fear they might suggest a device to turn godliness into gain; and soon dropped them (B., pp. 54, 59).

parallel to those of "honest" Mr. Gouge's work in Wales. Mr. Gouge set up "about 300 or 400 schools in Wales," etc. (see R.B., Pt. iii., pp. 190, 148).

¹R.B., Pt. iii., p. 102. The licence to preach which he had taken out (or had been taken out for him in October) seems to have been a Licence at large, i.e. for no particular place.

One day when the room was crowded the supporting beam gave way. There was a resounding 'crack' which "put all the people in a fear"; then another, which set them "running and crying out at the windows for Ladders". Baxter from the pulpit "reproved them sharply for their fears". But what averted a catastrophe was his wife's presence of mind. For somehow she managed to get out of the room, and lay hold of a carpenter, and induce him to strengthen the sagging beam with a tough prop—all in a few minutes. But the shock unnerved her; and the room was abandoned (B., p. 55).¹ Then, however, she built a chapel in Oxenden Street upon land only procurable on a short lease; and at a ground rent of £30. She begged the money to defray the cost of the building;² but herself bore the burden of the ground rent and other expenses. But once more her venture came to grief—this time through the malice of a neighbour who happened to be a considerable personage, Mr. Secretary Henry Coventry.³ For in consequence (it was thought) of Mr. Secretary's information, there came out a warrant, after Baxter had preached just once, to apprehend the preacher. Next Lord's day this was done; but the preacher turned out to be someone else—Baxter having gone to preach "twenty miles off". So the arrest with its penalties fell on his unfortunate substitute. And here the point is that Mrs. Baxter, because she had been the means of his coming, felt bound to discharge his lawyer's fees, etc., amounting to £20 (B., p. 57).

In addition, the new chapel was left useless on her hands, and entailed a loss, from first to last, of more than £400. She had now come to the end of her resources; and all she could do was to *hire* a chapel in Swallow Street, which she did until Baxter was again turned out. This was her last effort for him, but not her last in the way of chapel-building. For "she got from her friends money to help to build another very usefull Chappel for another, among a numerous poor people where still much good is done. And she promoted two or three such more" (B., p. 59). All this public activity was unconventional and set going not a few critical tongues. It took her—they said—out of her proper sphere. Why was she "not content to live

¹ See also R.B., Pt. iii., p. 152. The date of the accident is here mentioned—July 5th, 1674.

² Baxter gives a list of the contributions in R.B., Pt. iii., p. 172.

³ R.B., Pt. iii., pp. 171, 174.

privately and quietly " like other Puritan women ? (B., p. 64). And no doubt her notion of woman's work was something strange in the seventeenth century. One does not need to ask what she would have been had she lived in the twentieth. But her husband, at least, was not disturbed. All he found to say was that she did good in the way she deemed best ; that her zeal in doing good sprang from a keen sense of a stewardship for which she must give account ; and that it was a pity she had so few imitators.

4. The quality in her character which, according to Baxter, outshone every other, was her cheerful courage. There would have been no great scope for this had she married him in the heyday of his popularity, or if he had been a Bishop. But she linked her lot to his when he had just declared himself a Nonconformist ; and so was stepping out into the dark way of trial. She knew of his refusal of a Bishopric. Did she wish him to accept the glittering bribe ? Nay, his refusal (he tells us) heightened her esteem and love which would otherwise have been much alienated (B., p. 48). Nor was she incapable of forecasting " the scorn and the jealousies and wrath and persecutions " which awaited him. For she had heard what Bishop Morley had said and done against him in Kidderminster ; and of the like, or worse, treatment already meted out to others. She *expected* suffering, but her spirit rose at the prospect ; and, having once made her choice she never flinched. On the contrary her husband bears abundant witness that she was, under all circumstances, the brightest as well as the bravest of his human helpers.¹

Her first serious trial happened at Acton when Baxter was carried away to the ' common gaol ' ² for holding a conventicle. " I never," he says, " perceived her troubled at it. She cheerfully went with me into prison. She brought her best bed thither ; and did much to remove the removable inconveniences. . . . I think she had scarce ever a pleasanter time in her life than while she was with me there " (B., p. 51). So it was on other occasions. The first winter at Totteridge

¹ She said at the outset of her Christian career " that, ' if she was but in a condition, in which God's service was costly to her, it would make her know whether she were sincere or not ' ; so she had her wish, and proved her sincerity by her costliest obedience " (B., p. 73).

² The new Prison in Clerkenwell, June 3rd, 1669 (R.B., Pt. iii., pp. 49 ; cf. 50, 51, 58).

was a dreadful time. "Few poor people," he says, "are put to the hardness that she was put to ; we could have no house but part of a poor Farmer's, where the chimneys so extreemly smoak't, as greatly annoyed her health : for it was a very hard Winter and the Coal smoak so filled the Room that we all sate in, that it was as a Cloud, and we were even suffocated with the stink. And she had ever a great straitness of the Lungs that could not bear smoak or closeness." Her own bodily condition, therefore, was wretched ; and, added to this, was the anxiety of nursing Baxter who was "in continual pain".¹ Yet amidst all "she lived in great peace" (B., p. 52). We have seen some of the troubles which followed their removal to London. Of course compared with those of many other Nonconformists the Baxters came off lightly. But their troubles were quite bad enough. The very eminence of Baxter marked him out for all sorts of annoyance. He was a favourite object of slander and was dogged by spies. And, although during the rest of her life he was not again in prison, he escaped only at the cost of repeated heavy fines. For every sermon he was liable to a penalty of £40 which could be distrained upon his goods. Sometimes the fine was paid in money, sometimes in goods. But Mrs. Baxter was always for paying it in one form or the other ; and then for his going on to preach as before. Many a wife might have thought it right to urge that £40 was too big a price for a sermon. Not so Mrs. Baxter. "If," he says, "she did but think I had the least fear, or self-saving by fleshly wisdom, in shrinking from my undertaken Office work, it was so great a trouble to her that she could not hide it (who could too much hide many others)" (B., p. 61).

In this connection he says : "She was exceeding impatient with any Nonconformist Ministers that shrunk for fear of suffering, or that were over-querulous and sensible of their wants or dangers ; and would have no man be a Minister that had not so much self-denial as to lay down all at the feet of Christ and count no cost or suffering too dear to serve him" (B., p. 61). She even went so far as to blame Baxter himself "for naming in print his Losses, Imprisonment, and other Sufferings by the Bishops, as being over selfish querulousness, when" he "should

¹ It was from Totteridge that he wrote to the Earl of Lauderdale (June 24th, 1670) stating reasons for a refusal of the Earl's offer to secure him a place in Scotland. One of these is, that he "hardly expects to live another year" (R.B., Pt. iii., p. 75).

rather with wonder be thankful for the great mercey we enjoyed". Baxter thought her hardly fair in this point—because he had never mentioned his privations by way of personal grievance, but in order to place on record instances of a great public injustice. But he understood, and sympathised with, her attitude. Her principle was that the persecuted should suffer in silence ; should forbear railing for railing ; should be proud to suffer in a righteous cause ; and should leave the vindication of their cause to its own intrinsic merits. For this reason she deprecated sectarian strife. She did not like " to hear *Conformists talk't* against as a Party " ; she wanted it to be realized that conscience belongs to both sides ; and that the way of peace is for each side to recognize this and respect the other (B., p. 75).

May we not say that Baxter had good reason to admire her brave spirit and clear mind ?

5. These last words " a clear mind " point to another of the precious qualities which her husband discovered. He discovered that in matters practical, as distinct from speculative—where he was easily first—she was the safest of guides : " Her apprehension, he says, was so much quicker and more discerning than mine, that, though I was naturally somewhat tenacious of my own conceptions, her reasons, and my experience, usually told me that she was in the right ; and knew more than I. She would at the first hearing understand the matter better than I could do by many and long thoughts." So in things relating to " the Family, Estate or any civil business " he left her to her own judgment. In particular he found her possessed of an extraordinary insight where cases of conscience came up for decision.

" I often put cases to her which she suddenly so resolved as to convince me of some degree of oversight in my own resolution. Inso-much that of late years, I confess that I used to put all, save secret cases, to her, and hear what she could say. Abundance of difficulties were brought me, some about Restitution, some about Injuries, some about References, some about Vows, some about promises, and many such like ; and she would lay all the circumstances presently together, compare them, and give me a more exact resolution than I could do " (B., pp. 67, 68). It speaks well for Baxter's humility as well as common sense that he put himself so readily under her guidance where she was best qualified to lead ; and no doubt she saved him from many a mistake. Here is a fine passage of appreciation and self-confession :—

"She was so much for calmness, deliberation, and doing nothing rashly and in haste ; and my condition and business, as well as temper made me do, and speak much, so suddenly that she principally differed from me, and blamed me in this. Every considerable case and business she would have time to think much of before I did it, or speak, or resolved of anything. I knew the counsel was good for one that could stay, but not for one that must ride Post : I thought still I had but a little time to live ; I thought some considerable work still called for haste : I have these Forty years been sensible of the sin of losing time : I could not spare an hour : I thought I could understand the matters in question as well at a few thoughts as in many days : and yet she (that had less work and more leisure, but) a far quicker apprehension than mine, was all for staying to consider, and against haste and eagerness in almost everything ; and notwithstanding her overquick, and feeling temper, was all for mildness, calmness, gentleness, pleasingness and serenity" (B., p. 78).

Had she no faults ? Baxter mentions two or three. But they do not strike the reader as very serious.

One, strange to say, was her tendency to be righteous overmuch—by which he seems to mean that she lacked a due sense of moral perspective or proportion. In other words, she was apt to fasten on one duty and pursue it to the exclusion of other duties no less important. Thus, "she set her Head and Heart," he says, "so intensely upon doing good that her head and body would hardly bear it" (B., p. 72). She forgot that in her case it was a duty to think of her physical weakness and not spend her strength in doing good to the extent of ruining her health. Again, she overlooked the fact that it is a mistake to be so sedulous about the exact and perfect performance of one duty as to leave too little time for due attention to another. We are limited in our capacity and time. No man can afford to concentrate *all* his time upon one thing until it is done to perfection. We must take note of all duties and neglect none—but so apportion our attention as to give most to the highest. He thought his wife not regardful enough of this necessity sometimes—perhaps, when he saw her like Martha too busy in keeping everything clean and neat about the house.

Another of her faults was her slowness to speak about religious things. He means in public : for "she would talk privately to the servants and read good books to them". Of course, he did not ex-

pect her to preach ; but like every good Puritan he thought a Christian bound to bear his witness in company ; and in company Margaret seldom spoke of religion. She loved to listen while others talked and could herself have said much to the point. "I scarce ever met (says Baxter) with a person that was abler to speak long, for matter and good language, without repetitions." But she was possessed of a fear that if she talked of religion, or of her own religious experience, people might fancy she was better than she knew herself to be, or might be made to stumble by her inconsistencies. In Baxter's words, she had "a diseased enmity to ostentation and hypocrisie". So she left "the open speaking part of Religion" to others. Evidently this was but a phase of the first fault—that is to say, her over-righteousness in the direction of sincerity led her to neglect the duty of "profitable speech".

Baxter remarked a similar fault in his friend Sir Matthew Hale, the eminent judge—who "would make no great shew of zeal in Religion lest if he did anything amiss, Religion should be reproached for his sake" (B., p. 100) ; and he quotes approvingly a saying attributed to Cardinal Richelieu that "he hated no Counsellor more than those that were always saying—*Let us do it better*—by *that* hindering the doing of *much* at all". And certainly, if we never spoke or acted until we could be quite sure of not doing harm to anybody or to our cause we should hardly dare to speak or act at all.

To these two venial faults Baxter adds a third which is best described simply in his own words. It sprang out of her eager, trustful, sanguine temperament :—

"She was apt when she set her mind or heart upon some good work which she counted *great*, as the welfare of some dear Friend, to be too much pleased in her expectations and self-made promises of the success ; and then almost overturned with trouble when they disappointed her.

"And she too impatiently bore unkindnesses from the friends that were most dear to her, or whom she had much obliged.

"Her will was set upon good, but her weakness could not bear the crossing or frustration of it" (B., p. 76). Poor human Margaret !

6. Baxter does not print any letters of Margaret to himself and only one of his own to her. They were so seldom away from each other that, in fact, there were few to print (B., p. 85). But in the Baxter correspondence we come across several of hers to William

Baxter, the nephew who became a distinguished Classic, and one of these brings to light a fact which her husband does not mention, viz. that she was a scholar. She congratulates him on his 'studious forwardness' and sends him advice about his studies at the request (she says) of his 'worthy and greatly valued father and mother' who have laid upon her 'great obligations'. She then goes on to give a list of the best helps in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Grammar, and does so in a way that indicates close personal acquaintance with them. Lastly, she offers him two bits of wise counsel.

In the first place, "as to your Latin style you must read good authors and well observe them; and use yourself to speak and write it well. And herein you may much improve yourself by being Master of Erasmus's 'Colloquies,' Quintilian, Bandius his Epistles; and when you have a mind to read something in Divinity in Latin no style will you find beyond Calvin's, and were I worthy to advise you I should offer this, viz. that you translate your authors (some of it) into English, then throw your author by, and translate your English into Latin, and then compare your own Latin with the Author's." In the second place, "be not too severe in studying" (she says), "but give nature its needfull recreations, sustenances and reposes . . . you may easily spoil yourself by putting nature upon too great a force. But if you jade it your work will prove too tedious to reach, or forward, that proficiency which is desirable and which you are aiming at." At the outset of the letter she tells him that due attention to 'school affairs' in his present situation is a nearer duty than spending more time "in retirement for sacred reading, contemplating or devotions". His work must stand first. His parents and master expect this of him and expect "no more nor otherwise than what God approves of".¹ The whole letter is a model of good sense.

¹ Baxter Correspondence, vi., 172^{a b}, 173^a (Williams's Library). Other letters express a motherly interest in all his affairs; while his to her breathe warm gratitude for varied benefits. He was located with Sir John Bernard in Essex (cf. B., p. 2) who seems to have kept a school. The Baxters proposed to make a 'Doctor' of him, and for this, to put him with a 'Dr. Ridgley' for seven years. He was 'prepared' to submit; but, as is clear, found a way of escape. Before this there was some thought of his entering the ministry, but Baxter did not encourage it unless he could show (as he could not) that he had "that zeal and self denyall which would incline" him "to serve Christ upon the hardest terms" (Letter from

7. How came it that Mrs. Baxter died so young ? The explanation is not far to seek. Baxter supplies it in the words : ' Her knife was too keen and cut the sheath ' (B., p. 73). She was highly strung ; she lived intensely ; her body broke under the strain. Once a month, and often once a fortnight, for many years she had an agonizing headache (B., p. 45). About three years before the end this abated, but was succeeded by ' a pain in one of her breasts ' which seemed to threaten cancer. The effect of all this was doubly bad—it reacted upon her mind, clouding it with depressions which sometimes bordered on distraction and indeed caused her to apprehend that she might lose her reason ; it also induced her partially to starve herself under the impression that this was a way of warding off the dreaded cancer. " She kept down her body so in her diet that about five ounces of Milk, or Milk and Water, with a little chocolate in it morning and night, and about one or two bits at Dinner was her diet for many years " (B., p. 91).

What medicines she took did but aggravate the evil—as they did also in Baxter's case. She took e.g. " a spoonful of powdered Ginger every morning, near a quarter of a year together " ; she took " the Waters for Physick often " ; and during the ten weeks immediately before her death " she divers days drunk Barnet Waters along with tincture of Amber " (B., pp. 91, 92). This finished her. The two together worked " too powerfully on her brain, and suddenly cast her into strong disturbance and delirations in which, though the Physicians, with great kindness and care, did omit nothing in their power she died the 12th day : she fell sick on Friday, June 3rd, 1681, and died June 14th ".¹ These last days were extremely sad. " She oft cried out " (complaining of her Head) " Lord, make me know what I have done, for which I undergo all this ". " The last words that she

Baxter of date March 21st, 1679⁹). Generally the letters have only the day of the month ; but two or three letters have the year 1679 and are addressed (strange to say) to Mr. or Mrs. Baxter at their house in Highgate. I find no other hint of a residence in Highgate. William was still his uncle's trusted friend in June, 1688, and so continued to his death.

¹ She was buried on the 17th " in Christ's Church in the Ruines, in her own mother's grave "—" next the old Altar or Table in the Chancel ". Here Mrs. Baxter " had caused a very fair, rich, large marble-stone to be laid ". But it was broken " all to pieces " " in the doleful flames of London, 1666 ".

spake were, my God help me, Lord, have mercey upon me." It was the fashion in those days to infer the character of a life from the manner of its close. If its close was happy and peaceful it had been good, and vice versâ. But Baxter scouted so shallow a notion. "There is no judging of a man's sincerity . . . by his Disease, or by his Diseased Death-bed words : He that liveth to God shall die safely into the hand of God, though a Fever or Deliration hinder him from knowing this—till experience and sudden possession of Heaven convince him"¹ (B., p. 106). *Him* he says—but he was thinking of his wife.

It may have occurred to some of you that in point of temperament and intellect and spirit and nervous suffering there is a singular likeness between Margaret Baxter and Jane Welsh Carlyle. Perhaps the parallel fails in this respect—that Margaret, although constantly in more or less pain and subject to nameless Fears even worse than pain, strove to keep it all to herself and to appear habitually cheerful. Certainly the parallels does not extend with any closeness to the husbands. There was no reason on Baxter's part as on Carlyle's for bitter regrets on the score of harshness or misunderstanding or neglect. But Baxter had *two* regrets, and they only show how intimate must have been the union which had been affected by nothing worse. One regret was that he had been "too apt to be Impatient of her impatency and with every trouble of her Mind, not enough considering how great tenderness in all our discourse she needed—though I remember nothing else that ever I shewed impatience to her in" (B., p. 80). In plain words, he had been apt to pooh-pooh her "too great fears of the overthrow of her understanding" as merely fanciful. The other regret was that he did not come up to her expectations. She had always a passion for the ideal, for the morally perfect and hoped to find it in him ; but did not. "My dear wife did look for more good in me, and more help from me than she found, especially lately in my weakness and decay. We are all like Pictures that must not be looked at too near" (B., p. 87). For this regret, however, he had at least one consolation : that

¹ At Baxter's request her funeral sermon was preached by John Howe—Minister of the Presbyterian congregation in Silver Street, where she often attended. The text was 2 Cor. v. 8. Howe refers to his having spent "some days under the same roof with her"—several years before her marriage. He observed then "her strangely vivid and great wit"; and he insists that by her marriage she 'gave proof of' her unworldliness.

through his inevitable shortcomings she had acquired a needed lesson. "This use she made of my too cold and careless converse, and of all my hasty words, that she—that had long thought she had no grace because she reach't not higher than almost any reach on earth, and because she had many passions and infirmities—perceived by me, and many other esteemed Teachers, that we were all as bad as she; and that, therefore, grace doth stand with more faultiness than she had imagined; and that all our teaching much excelled the frame of our souls and lives, and was much more worthy to be followed; and therefore, that God would also pardon such failings as her own" (B., p. 56).

His last reflection, as he sat writing in his lonely study at Southampton Square and thought of the lovely soul which had been the 'light of his eyes' for nineteen years, strikes a deeply human chord. "Had I been to possess the company of my Friends in this Life only how short would our comfortable converse have been! But now I shall live with them in the Heavenly city of God for ever. And they, being *here* of the same mind as my forgiving God and Saviour, will forgive all my Failings, Neglects and Injuries, as God forgiveth them and me. The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away: and he hath taken away but that upon my Desert which he had given me undeservedly near nineteen years. Blessed be the name of the Lord. I am waiting to be next. The Door is open. Death will quickly draw the Veil, and make us see how near we were to God and one another, and did not (sufficiently) know it. Farewell vain world and welcome true Everlasting Life" (B., p. 107).

Strange to say, one of the 'Uses' or lessons which he draws from his experience of married life is that, on the whole, it were better for ministers, in regular charge, not to marry. It had never been forgotten that he said this to one of his Reverend brethren before his marriage; and many a time his inconsistency had been cast up against him. Well, he now answers: "I did say so to him; and I never changed my judgment; yea, my wife lived and died in the same mind. And I here freely advise all Ministers that have not some kind of necessity, to think of these few reasons among many":—

1. "The work of the sacred ministry is enough to take up the whole man, if he had the strength and parts of many men." Baxter's

conception of a minister's work, we must bear in mind, involved the 'pastoral care' of every soul in his parish. And as things are this demands all his time. "In the primitive Church every Congregation had many Ministers ; but covetousness of Clergy and people will now scarce allow two to very great Parishes. I did not marry till I was silenced and ejected and had no flock or Pastoral Cure. Believe it, he that will have a wife must spend much of his time in conference, prayer, and other family-duties, with her. And if he have children, O how much care, time and labour they will require ! I know it though I have none. And he that hath servants, must spend time in teaching them, and in other duties for them. . . . And then it will disquiet a man's mind to think that he must neglect his family or his Flock, and hath undertaken more than he can do. My conscience hath forced me many times to omit secret prayer with my wife when she desired it, not daring to omit far greater work."

2. "And a Minister can scarce look to win much on his Flock, if he be not able to oblige them by gifts of charity and liberality. And a married man hath seldom anything to spare especially if he have children that must be provided for, all will seem too little for them. Or if he hath none, Housekeeping is chargeable, when a single man may have entertainment at easy rates ; and most women are weak, and apt to live in fear of want, if not in covetousness ; and have many many wants real or fancied of their own to be supplied."

3. "In a word, St. Paul's own words are plain to others, but concern Ministers much more than other men, 1 Cor. vii. 7, etc. . . . He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord ; but he that is married careth for the things of the world how he may please his wife. This is true. And believe it, both caring for the things of the world, and caring to please one another, are businesses, and troublesome businesses ; care for house rent, for children, for servants' wages, for food and rayment, *but above all for debts*, are very troublesome things, and if cares choak the word in hearers, they will be very unfit for the mind of a Student, and a man that should still dwell on holy things.

"*And the pleasing of a Wife is usually no easie task*: there is an unsuitableness in the best, and wisest, and likest. Faces are not so unlike as the apprehensions of the mind. They that agree in Religion, in Love, and Interest, yet may have daily different apprehensions about

occasional occurrences, persons, things, words. That will seem the best way to one that seems worst to the other. And passions are apt to succeed, and *serve* these differences. Very good people are very hard to be pleased. My own dear wife had high desires of my doing and speaking better than I did, but my badness made it hard to me to do better. . . .” And “there are too many that will not be pleased unless you will contribute to their sin, their pride, their wastefulness, their superfluities and childish fancies, their covetousness and passions; and too many who have such passion that it requireth greater skill to please them than almost any, the wisest, can attain. And the discontents and displeasures of one that is so near you will be as Thorns or Nettles in your bed” (B., pp. 101-104).

These are plausible reasons for his plea—though taken one by one their force is less than it seems. But he allows that “some kind of *necessity*” may justify a Minister as well as any other man in disregarding them. It did so in his own case. Love stepped in and decreed the necessity. Love is always stepping in and experience bears witness that the Reasons of Love are wiser than all the reasons of abstract logic, even when they emanate from so great a divine as St. Paul.

In the collection of ‘Baxter Treatises and other Papers’ of the Williams’s Library (vol. v., No. 2) is to be found Mrs. Baxter’s (autograph) will as follows:—

“To my worthy and beloved friends, Richard Hampden,¹ Esq., John Swinfen, Esq., Thomas Ffoley, Esq.,¹ and the rest of my Trustees—

“Whereas I have before my marriage chosen you as my Trustees for the securing and disposall of my estate, desiring you to lay out £800 on an annuity for my life, and the rest after my death to lay out for charitable uses—Except I signified under my hand and seale that it should be otherwise disposed of, I do hereby, under my hand and seale accordingly, notifie to you that it is my desire and will that the remainder² of my moneyes being £85³ shall be disposed of otherwise

¹ For Mr. Thomas Foley (Junn.) see R.B., Pt. iii., p. 71, § 150.

For Mr. Richard Hampden, see R.B., Pt. ii., p. 448, § 445.

² Crossed through in the original.

³ From B., p. 65, it is to be feared that by 1681 nothing of the £85 was left for Baxter’s use.

than is appointed in the deed of Trust in such manner and to such uses as I have signified to my dear husband Richard Baxter, to whom for the said uses I would have it all delivered.

"Given under my hand and dated this Tenth day of February, 1670.

MARGARET BAXTER.

"In the presence of WILLIAM BAXTER.

ROBERT PRICHART,

LYDAE WOODS

(= "Lydia ?)."

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, SHEWING WHAT IS PROVED AND WHAT IS NOT PROVED ABOUT SHAKESPEARE'S LIFE AND WORK

BY

WILLIAM POEL

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE SOCIETY

IT is hoped that the accompanying Table will prove useful not only to students of the period of literature to which it refers, but also to the general reader.

The incidents given in the column headed "Traditions" appear in all writings on Shakespeare's life, where they are usually referred to as "probable," and it is possible that the current opinion as to their probability will be to some extent corrected or modified by this method of presenting the material.

The Table, for sake of convenience, has been arranged in two sheets, the first covering the Elizabethan period, 1564-1603; the second the Jacobean period, 1603-1616.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

Shewing what is Proved and what is not Proved about Shakespeare's Life and Work

SHEET I.—ELIZABETHAN PERIOD, 1564-1603.

COMPILED BY WILLIAM POEL.

FACTS.

TRADITIONS.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS AND ALLUSIONS.

(a) STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

- 1564 BAPTISM, April 26th.
Father, Mayor, 1568. Players first visit town ; Father chief Alderman and called "Mr." 1571. First visit of Lord Leicester's players, 1573. Queen visits Kenilworth, 1575.† Second visit of Leicester's players, 1577. Father's money troubles begin. Mother pawns her estate, "Ashbies," and her lands at Snitterfield, 1578. Father fails to redeem her property, 1580.*
- 1582 MARRIAGE. Bishop's license issued to marry "William Shakespeare and Anne Whateley of Temple Grafton," Nov. 27. Two Stratford men sign bond for Bishop's leave to marry "William Shagspere and Anne Hathwey," Nov. 28th.
- 1583 DAUGHTER's baptism, May 26th.
- 1585 TWINS' Baptism, Feb. 2nd.
Father's debts increase. A writ served but no goods to distrain, 1585. He forfeits his Alderman's gown, 1586. He is sued for his brother Henry's debts. He is held in custody or put in prison. Third visit of Leicester's players, 1587.
- 1587 (About this time Shakespeare may have left Stratford).
Father, fearing arrest, fined for not going to church, 1592. On or before 1595 Anne borrows forty shillings from a shepherd, who in his will (1602) directs that Shakespeare shall repay. Father in debtor's court for last time, 1595 ; sells "slip of land" in Henley street, 1596.
- 1596 Son dies; buried August 11th. First application to Heralds' College for coat of arms.
- 1597 Buys NEW PLACE and an acre of land for £60.‡
A lawsuit to recover Mother's estate. The family described as "of small wealth and very few friends."
- 1598 Third largest owner of Corn in his ward. Now called GENTLEMAN and Householder in town documents. Corporation wish to sell him tithes. Stratford man wants to borrow £30.‡
Coat of Arms granted by Heralds' College. Mother's claim to the arms of Arden of Park Hall refused, 1599. Father dies intestate; buried Sept. 8, 1601.
- 1602 Buys one hundred and seven ACRES OF LAND near Stratford for £320.‡ Also a COTTAGE and a quarter acre of land at back of New Place.

(b) LONDON.

- 1593-4 Dedicates his poems, VENUS and ADONIS, and LUCRECE, to Southampton; they are published by Field, formerly of Stratford.
Further editions of Venus appeared in 1594, in 1596, and in 1599.
- 1594 Named as one of the ACTORS paid March 15, for shewing before the Queen at Christmas "twoe severall comedies or enterludes."
- 1596 ASSESSED 13s. 4d. on property valued at £5‡ in the parish of St. Helens; he was now lodging in Bankside.
- 1598 Acts in BEN JONSON's comedy, "Every Man in his Humour."
Refers to SPENSER in "A Midsummer Night's Dream."
His name appears for the first time on published plays, "Rich. II.," "Rich. III.," and "Love's Labour's Lost." The title-page of the latter states that the play was acted before the Queen. Twelve of his plays had now been written and acted; of four others he was part author. Nine had been printed; two ("Rich. II.," "Rich. III.") reached a second edition. Some unpublished Sonnets had been written for private friends.
- 1599 GLOBE PLAYHOUSE built between Jan. 1st and May 16th at a cost of £600. The two Burbages held five shares; Shakespeare, Heming, Phillips, Pope, and Kemp, five shares between them. Highest price paid by actors for a play at this time was £11.
- EARL OF ESSEX's popularity mentioned in fifth chorus of "Hen. V."
- 1600 First mention of name in Stationers' Register ("Hen. IV. Part II.")
- 1601 Allusion in "Hamlet" to the Town favouring CHILD-PLAYERS.
- 1602 "TWELFTH NIGHT" acted in Middle Temple Hall, Feb. 2nd.
Quotes MARLOWE in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and in "As You Like It."
- 1603 Acts in Ben Jonson's "SEJANUS."
By this time 21 of his plays had been acted; 14 published, 10 of them under his name; 10 extra editions had appeared, besides 5 of "Venus" and 3 of "Lucrece." Twenty-eight plays, of which four at least were Shakespeare's, were acted by Burbage's Players at Court during the Queen's reign.

That his father was a butcher, *Aubrey*, 1680: a wool-dealer, *Rowe*, 1709: that Shakespeare went to the Stratford Free School, *Rowe*, 1709: that he was once a schoolmaster, *Aubrey*, 1680: that he was apprenticed to a butcher, *Dowdall*, 1693: that he poached Sir Thomas Lucy's deer, *William Fulman*, 1688: that he began as a playhouse servitor, *Dowdall*, 1693: that he held horses for theatre-goers, *Old Tradition*, quoted by *Colley Cibber*, 1750 c.: that he received £1,000 from Southampton, *Rowe*, 1709: that he got Ben Jonson's first play acted, *Rowe*, 1709: that he held wit combats with Ben Jonson, *Fulmer's Worthies*, 1650 c.: that he played the Ghost in "Hamlet," *Rowe*, 1709: and Adam in "As You Like It," *Oldys*, 1700 c.: that he returned home once a year, *Aubrey*, 1680: that he planted a mulberry tree at New Place, *R. B. Whelen*, 1760: that the Queen wished him to write a play to show Falstaff in love, *Rowe*, 1709.

- 1593 Death of MARLOWE, June 1st.
- 1594 SPENSER and DRAYTON praise Shakespeare's Muse.
- 1597 ESSEX appointed Earl Marshal and head of Heralds' College; CAMDEN, King of Arms.
- 1597 BLACKFRIARS HALL bought by Burbage for £600. Dutchman makes a sketch of SWAN THEATRE from description given by a friend. DEATH OF JAMES BURBAGE, "the first builder of playhouses."
- 1598 FRANCIS MERES, a University graduate and divine, quotes a line of Falstaff's, and says that Shakespeare's dramatic among the English is the best for comedy and tragedy. He names six comedies and six tragedies which had been acted. GABRIEL HARVEY writes that Shakespeare's "Venus" delights young folk, but "Lucrece" and the tragedy of "Hamlet" please the wiser sort.
- MARSTON, the dramatist, says that "Romeo and Juliet" was acted at the Curtain playhouse and applauded there.
- HENTZNER, a foreigner, writes that tragedy and comedy are acted in London before large audiences nearly every day.
- Death of SPENSER, Jan. 16.
- SOUTHAMPTON spends an interval of leisure in "merrily going to plays every day."
- 1601 ESSEX REBELLION. "Rich. II." acted at the Globe playhouse on Saturday, Feb. 7th.
- IMPRISONMENT of Southampton and EXECUTION of Essex (Feb. 25). Globe players act life and death of Cromwell, Earl of Essex.
- MANNINGHAM, in his Diary, Mar. 13th, relates a story of Richard Burbage, Shakespeare and Courtessan.
- Queen's CHAPEL Boys of the "Blackfriars" satirize the plays and players of the "Globe" in Ben Jonson's "Poetaster."
- 1602 "Here's our fellow Shakespeare put them all down, aye, and Ben Jonson too" (*Kemp*, in *The Parnassus Play*, Jan. 3).
- 1603 Death of Queen Elizabeth, Mar. 24th.
Between 1591 and 1603 Forty Writers quote or parody lines from Shakespeare's poems and plays, occasionally giving his name.

Burbage's Company of Players visited the following provincial towns:—

- 1593 Coventry, Leicester.
 1594 Winchester, Marlborough.
 1596 Faversham.
 1597 Rye, Dover, Marlborough, Bristol, Bath.

* For some years these visits were repeated annually.

† Reminiscences of Kenilworth appear in "Henry IV. Part II." and "The Merry Wives of Windsor."

‡ In comparing this sum with modern currency multiply by 10.

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CONTEMPORARY EVENTS AND ALLUSIONS.

- 1603 WILLIAM CAMDEN names Shakespeare, among others, as one of the "most pregnant wits of these our times, whom succeeding ages may justly admire."
Queen Elizabeth buried, Apr. 28.
JOHN DAVIES of Hereford writes that Shakespeare and Burbage have "wit, courage, good shape, good partes, and all good"; elsewhere he mentions Shakespeare personally: "Some say (good *Will*) which I, in sport, do sing, Had'st thou not plaid some kingly parts in sport, Thou hadst bin a companion for a *King*, And beene a king among the meaner sort."
Hampton Court Conference. The King's threat to the Puritans, Jan.
- 1604 ANTHONY SCOLOKER writes that an Epistle to the Reader should resemble one of "friendly Shakespeare's tragedies"; it should "please all, like Prince Hamlet." Elsewhere he describes the stage antics of the Prince, "Puts off his cloathes, his shirt he only weares, Much like mad *Hamlet*; thus a passion tears."
Peace with Spain, followed by the Gunpowder Plot, Nov. 5.
- 1605 BURBAGE says the Queen has seen all the NEW PLAYS, and that the revival of "Love's Labour's Lost" at Southampton's House should "please her exceedingly."
Owing to the Act of Uniformity, fifteen hundred ministers surrender their livings.
- 1606 DRUMMOND, the poet, has read this year "Venus and Adonis," "Lucrece," "A Midsummer Night's Dream," and "Romeo & Juliet."
Many Nonconformists take refuge in Holland, 1608.
- 1609 EDWARD ALLEYN notes in his Diary that he paid 6d. for a copy of the "Sonnets." The author of the PREFACE to "Troilus and Cressida" asserts that even those who dislike the theatre are pleased with Shakespeare's comedies.
- 1611 DAVIES reproves Shakespeare for his choice of the Venus legend as a subject for his "eternal lines."
Dr. FORMAN notes that he saw "Cymbeline," "Macbeth," and "A Winter's Tale," at the "Globe."
Authorized version of the Bible published.
- 1615 PHILIP HENSLOWE, theatrical manager, buried in the CHANCEL of S. Saviour's Church, with "afternoon knell of the Great Bell."
First Congregational Church in England formed 1616.
During this period some seventy or more writers quote or parody lines from Shakespeare's poems and plays, occasionally giving his name.
Burbage's Company of Players visited the following provincial towns:—
1605 Oxford, Barnstable.
1606 Marlborough, Oxford, Leicester, Saffron Walden, Dover, Maidstone.
1607 Barnstable, Oxford, Cambridge.
1608 Marlborough, Coventry.
1609 Ipswich, Hythe, New Romney.
1610 Oxford, Dover, Shrewsbury.

UNPROVED.

That he was loved by Ben Jonson during his lifetime, "*Discoveries*," printed 1641: that he wrote plays without blotting a line, *Heminge and Condell*, 1623: that he wrote "The London Prodigal," "The Yorkshire Tragedy," and "Pericles," all acted at the "Globe," and printed with his name on the title-pages, 1605-9: that he wrote the "Henry VIII." printed in the First Folio, 1623: that he was joint author with Fletcher of "The Two Noble Kinsmen," the title-page of which gives both their names, 1634: that he was the "Mr. Shakespeare" who, with Burbage, was paid for an herald's device designed for the Earl of Rutland, 1613.

UNKNOWN.

Whether all the "Sonnets," published in 1609, were written before 1598: the chronological order of the plays: date of his final retirement to Stratford: whether he survived all his three brothers: on what terms he lived with his wife: who paid for his monument in Stratford Church, and who wrote the inscription for it: whether he wrote the verses inscribed on his grave-stone (1616): whether any of his books and MSS. were in his family's possession at the time of his death.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

The classification of the items in this list is in accordance with the main divisions of the "Dewey Decimal System," and in the interest of those readers, who may not be familiar with the system, it may be advisable briefly to point out the advantages claimed for this method of arrangement.

The principal advantage of a classified catalogue, as distinguished from an alphabetical one, is that it preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty. Related matter is thus brought together, and the reader turns to one sub-division and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. In this way new lines of research are often suggested.

One of the great merits of the system employed is that it is easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it. Its distinctive feature is the employment of the ten digits, in their ordinary significance, to the exclusion of all other symbols—hence the name, decimal system.

The sum of human knowledge and activity has been divided by Dr. Dewey into ten main classes—0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These ten classes are each separated in a similar manner, thus making 100 divisions. An extension of the process provides 1000 sections, which can be still further sub-divided in accordance with the nature and requirements of the subject. Places for new subjects may be provided at any point of the scheme by the introduction of new decimal points. For the purpose of this list we have not thought it necessary to carry the classification beyond the hundred main divisions, the arrangement of which will be found in the "Order of Classification" which follows :—

ORDER OF CLASSIFICATION.

000 General Works.

- 010 BIBLIOGRAPHY.
- 020 LIBRARY ECONOMY.
- 030 GENERAL CYCLOPEDIAS.
- 040 GENERAL COLLECTIONS.
- 050 GENERAL PERIODICALS.
- 060 GENERAL SOCIETIES.
- 070 NEWSPAPERS.
- 080 SPECIAL LIBRARIES. POLYGRAPHY.
- 090 BOOK RARITIES.

100 Philosophy.

- 110 METAPHYSICS.
- 120 SPECIAL METAPHYSICAL TOPICS.
- 130 MIND AND BODY.
- 140 PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.
- 150 MENTAL FACULTIES. PSYCHOLOGY.
- 160 LOGIC.
- 170 ETHICS.
- 180 ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.
- 190 MODERN PHILOSOPHERS.

200 Religion.

- 210 NATURAL THEOLOGY.
- 220 BIBLE.
- 230 DOCTRINAL THEOL. DOGMATICS.
- 240 DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL.
- 250 HOMILETIC. PASTORAL. PAROCHIAL.
- 260 CHURCH. INSTITUTIONS. WORK.
- 270 RELIGIOUS HISTORY.
- 280 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.
- 290 NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

300 Sociology.

- 310 STATISTICS.
- 320 POLITICAL SCIENCE.
- 330 POLITICAL ECONOMY.
- 340 LAW.
- 350 ADMINISTRATION.
- 360 ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.
- 370 EDUCATION.
- 380 COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.
- 390 CUSTOMS. COSTUMES. FOLK-LORE.

400 Philology.

- 410 COMPARATIVE.
- 420 ENGLISH.
- 430 GERMAN.
- 440 FRENCH.
- 450 ITALIAN.
- 460 SPANISH.
- 470 LATIN.
- 480 GREEK.
- 490 MINOR LANGUAGES.

500 Natural Science.

- 510 MATHEMATICS.
- 520 ASTRONOMY.
- 530 PHYSICS.
- 540 CHEMISTRY.
- 550 GEOLOGY.
- 560 PALEONTOLOGY.
- 570 BIOLOGY.
- 580 BOTANY.
- 590 ZOOLOGY.

600 Useful Arts.

- 610 MEDICINE.
- 620 ENGINEERING.
- 630 AGRICULTURE.
- 640 DOMESTIC ECONOMY.
- 650 COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCE.
- 660 CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY.
- 670 MANUFACTURES.
- 680 MECHANIC TRADES.
- 690 BUILDING.

700 Fine Arts.

- 710 LANDSCAPE GARDENING.
- 720 ARCHITECTURE.
- 730 SCULPTURE.
- 740 DRAWING, DESIGN, DECORATION.
- 750 PAINTING.
- 760 ENGRAVING.
- 770 PHOTOGRAPHY.
- 780 MUSIC.
- 790 AMUSEMENTS.

800 Literature.

- 810 AMERICAN.
- 820 ENGLISH.
- 830 GERMAN.
- 840 FRENCH.
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